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THE HIBBERT LECTURES
SECOND SERIES

EARLY ZOROASTRIANISM

LECTURES
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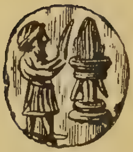

PRIEST BEFORE THE FIRE, WITH *BARSOM.*
(*From a Persian seal in the writer's possession.*)

PREFACE

The Lectures here printed were delivered more than a year ago, and I must apologise for the long time that has been needed for the work of writing them out in book form, and putting together the supplementary material on which much of my case rests. The leisure that a busy teacher's life commands is very scanty for such complex inquiries; and the very different field of Hellenistic Greek has demanded its share of my time.

It will perhaps be convenient if I collect in this preface the chief theses for which evidence and argument are offered in the following pages. I have not thought it necessary to occupy space with the ordinary information which may be found in good books on the subject, or in such standard sources as the articles of Geldner and Eduard Meyer in the *Encyclopædia Britannica.* I am the less disposed to do this, as I should only be repeating what I have myself recently written in my little book in the "Cambridge Manuals" series, *Early Religious Poetry of Persia.* In these Lectures I am trying to paint a picture, and not merely to take a photograph. Scholars more competent than myself may pronounce my painting out of perspective or false to the facts; but I shall still perhaps have done some service to the study of a fascinating and much-neglected subject if I only provoke discussion and research. I need not sprinkle a host of personal pronouns over my pages to show where I am giving my own reading of the situation; for by the very nature of the case I am doing this all through. But I hope I have given references enough to show where I have differed from the authorities; and if I do venture on novelties, or even heresies, I trust it is with great willingness to be confuted if I am wrong. My mistakes may suggest to other inquirers a truer solution of knotty problems I have tried to unravel.

Lecture I. deals with the sources. Here I try to face the question of the antiquity of the Gathas and the Later Avesta. The reality of Zarathushtra's person as portrayed in the Gathas is defended; and the latter are claimed for a very early date, especially on linguistic and metrical grounds. The traditional date (660–583 B.C.) is a minimum, but there are strong reasons for placing Zarathushtra and his Gathas some generations earlier still. The Yashts may be placed in the later Achæmenian age, and the prose Avesta, in particular the ritual of the Vendidad, probably after Alexander.

In Lecture II. are investigated the religious conditions prevailing before Zarathushtra came. Darius is pronounced to have been the first true Zoroastrian among the Achæmenian kings; but it is urged that antiquity had dimmed the clearness of the Prophet's more esoteric teaching even with this truly religious monarch. The other early kings belong to the unreformed Iranian religion, either because the teaching of Zarathushtra had wholly or mainly failed to reach them, or because they reverted to superstitions more in accord with their character. The cult of Ahura Mazdâh is not a mark of Zarathushtra's teaching, having been hereditary in a small aristocratic caste long before his time. The popular religion of Persia, as described very accurately by Herodotus, is the proto-Aryan nature-worship, with *Dyauš*, the sky, at the head of the pantheon, as in the days before the Indo-Europeans began to separate. This leads to some speculations as to the original character of Mithra, the chief of the Iranian "heavenly gods" whom Zarathushtra ejected from heaven—to return in a modified form in the Later Avesta. Finally the period of syncretism which brought the religion towards the Later Avesta is fixed for the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon.

Lecture III. urges the historical truth of the Gathic picture of Zarathushtra, and places his prophetic activity in Bactria. This is the answer to the difficulty which sent Darmesteter astray: the more esoteric lore of Zarathushtra, and especially the doctrine of the Amshaspands, remained for centuries within the land of its birth, which was far away from the main stream of history. It only spread westwards when adapted by the Magi, and in the form they gave it. Among the legends of Zarathushtra one is discussed as probably referred to in Virgil's Fourth Eclogue. It is then shown that the earliest doctrine of the Amshaspands gives them neither a collective name nor a fixed number; they are parts of the Divine hypostasis, sharing with Mazdah the name Ahura, "Lord." Finally I summarise the features of a double counter-reformation, as I regard it.

First there is the return of the old Iranian polytheism; then the work of the Magi, which in the Sassanian revival brought Parsism to the form in which we know it to-day.

Lecture IV. is concerned with the Doctrine of Evil, which Zarathushtra called *Druj*, "the Lie": *Angra Mainyu*, "Enemy Spirit," is a title devised by the Magi from a casual epithet occurring only once in the Gathas. The fall of the Daevas—once "heavenly ones"—is examined; especially it is shown that Mithra himself, as well as Haoma, was probably a Daeva in the Prophet's own system. Naturally, explicit allusions have not survived, for the old Iranian gods soon emerged from their eclipse, shorn of their corrupt attributes and subordinated to Mazdah. The Fall of man, as taught in the Gathas, is newly interpreted. In the next Lecture Zarathushtra's eschatology is set forth, and some points in its relation to older ideas examined. The most important novelties I have to propound come in Lectures VI. and VII., on the Magi, the delineation of whose origin and work is central for my whole view of Zoroastrianism. It is argued that the Magi were an indigenous tribe of priests or shamans, the leaders of the non-Aryan population of Media, who, after failing to gain political supremacy in the revolt of Gaumata, secured in two or three generations a religious ascendancy which compensated for any failure. The earliest evidence of their activity as a sacred tribe is in Ezekiel (8^{17}), where they are found at Jerusalem in or before 591 B.C., worshipping the sun, and holding to their face a branch, which is the predecessor of the later *barsom*. Their aboriginal affinities are indicated by parallels from Central and Western Africa to their method of disposal of corpses, which, like certain other peculiar tenets always recognised in antiquity as specially Magian, points to their being neither Aryan nor Semitic. Zarathushtra himself was claimed by them as a Magus, without adequate reason, and points in his religious system which the Magi could adapt were taken over. Magian characteristics which never found their way into Parsism were (1) next-of-kin marriage, (2) magic, (3) oneiromancy, (4) astrology, (5) the malignity of planets and (6) of mountains. On these lines I endeavour to trace in the Avesta the contributions of the Magi, who may be held responsible for the ritual, and for the composition of the Vendidad, while they preserved the verse Avesta and popularised with adaptations the teaching of the Prophet. But the extent of this was very limited till Sassanian times, so that true Zoroastrianism is not available as a possible source for religious ideas found before that period in the West. The alleged influence of Babylon upon early Parsism is discussed and shown to be without any real foundation. Finally a Median folk-story, full of Magian ideas, is traced behind the *Book of Tobit*, and tentatively reconstructed in the Appendix.

Lecture VIII. is devoted to the Fravashis, who are traced to a double origin, the *Di Manes* of universal ancestor-worship and an animistic concept not greatly differing from the External Soul. This accounts for the Fravashis of the living, the unborn, and communities. The relations of *fravaši* and *daēnā* and *χᵛarənah* are examined, also external parallels such as the *genius* (*iuno*) of Roman religion. Finally it is asked how far the Fravashis were *guardian* spirits, and whether they were specially connected with stars, which leads to an examination of possible signs of Magianism in the story of the Magi in Matthew ii.

The concluding Lecture endeavours to illustrate the true character of early Zoroastrian concepts by comparing them with corresponding concepts in the religion of Israel and in Christianity, in matters where borrowing is excluded on either side. The question of actual borrowing is discussed, and a mainly negative result attained, except for some features of apocalyptic imagery and of angelology. Some limited influence of the Fravashi concept may be accepted, but Ahriman and Satan are only superficially connected.

It only remains for me to perform the very pleasant task of expressing my deep indebtedness to two friends, who between them almost monopolise the study of early Zoroastrianism in the English-speaking world. Professor A. V. Williams Jackson of Columbia University has helped me now for many years by his books, his letters to me, and all too rarely by talks when we could meet in his country or my own. He read a large part of my MS. and sent me many suggestions. Bishop L. C. Casartelli, whom Manchester University is fortunate enough to claim as Lecturer in Iranian, has read the whole of my proofs, to my great profit. I need not say I do not leave with either of my friends the slightest responsibility for my reading of this ancient and perplexing history. I have generally named them when they have either added to or questioned what was before them. But their kind estimate of the work as a whole has been the greatest possible encouragement.

There are many other names of learned friends from whom I have received help in dealing with isolated points that came within their special knowledge. I must resist the temptation to set down their names here, lest I should produce the impression that this book has been revised by a veritable commission of experts. I have gratefully named them at the places where I have sought their help. Two more extensive contributions must be mentioned. Mr R. D. Hicks has most kindly allowed me unlimited borrowing powers in a paper he presented to the Cambridge Philological Society. Readers who follow my annotated extract from Diogenes will be grateful to me for rescuing what a too modest author had not arranged to publish. The notes I am able to print under Dr J. G. Frazer's name are a very small part of my twelve years' indebtedness to their author. Friendship with such a man is a liberal education. One name that does not often figure lies behind every page. No pupil of E. B. Cowell would omit to record his veneration for an ineffaceable memory. I read the Avesta with him at Cambridge for fifteen years, bidding reluctant farewell to my *alma mater* less than a year before she lost one of the most learned and humble of her scholars, the most lovable and inspiring of teachers. *Fravašim ašaono yazamaiđē!*

I should like to add a word of greeting and of thanks to distinguished members of the Parsi community in Bombay. The learned editor of the *Dînkart,* Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana, has sent me the three latest parts of his great work. I have had similar courtesies from Mr J. J. Modi, Mr G. K. Nariman, and the Trustees of the Parsi Panchayat. Writing as I am of the early period I have had less opportunity than I could wish for acknowledging their kindness by making appropriations from such researches. My own knowledge unhappily does not cross the border of those ancient Iranian dialects wherein my studies in Indogermanic Philology first led me to range. I earnestly hope this book will not too much disappoint Parsi scholars who have taken an interest in endeavours to throw light on the hoary origins of their religion. I can at least plead that I have bestowed much labour of love on a subject lying rather far away from the primary claims on my time.

My final acknowledgements, if more limited in extent, are naturally the most pleasing to record. In the holiday of a busy schoolmaster, my brother-in-law and old colleague Mr George Osborn, of The Leys, was good enough to make me the first of the Indices. Other help in the drudgery of index-making comes from members of my family, and especially my daily helper: οὐδὲν ὀφείλω, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἀγαπᾶν.

J. H. M.

Wesleyan College,
Didsbury, Manchester,
September 8, 1913.

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TRANSLITERATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

THE system of transliteration adopted in Iranian words is that of Bartholomae's Lexicon, except that I substitute the Greek χ for the rather misleading *x* (*kh*). This applies only to words in italics, which are represented with exactness. A less strict transliteration is adopted when Iranian words occur in continuous English text printed in the same Roman type. A note may be added as to the probable pronunciation. The vowels have the "Italian" value: *ə* is the Sanskrit *ă* (as in sof*a*), *ą* the French *an*; *å* the sound in l*aw*. Spirant χ and γ are heard in German do*ch*, Tage (dialectic); θ and δ in our ba*th* and ba*the*; *n* is our *ng*; *š ž* as in *s*ure and a*z*ure; *c j* as in *ch*urch and *j*udge; χ^v may be heard in the Welsh *chw*ech, and *ṯ* is probably a *th* sound. For more exact definitions the student will go to the grammars.

Most of the abbreviations will explain themselves. I may note a few that are less obvious:—

Ys = Yasna.
Yt = Yasht.
Vd = Vendidad.
Visp = Vispered.
Nir = Nirangistan.
W = Westergaard (fragments).
Bd or *Bund* = Bundahish.
SZS = Selections of Zad-sparam.
Mkh = Minokhired.
BYt = Bahman Yasht.
SlS = Shāyast-lā-Shāyast.
Sd = Sad-dar.
Dk = Dînkart.
Bh = Behistan Inscription.
Pers = Persepolis Inscription (Kings' names precede :— Dar(ius), Xerx(es), Art(axerxes).)
NR = Inscriptions at Nakš-i-Rustam.
Air Wb = *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (Bartholomae).
Brugmann *Grundriss*² = *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen.*
EB = *Encyclopædia Biblica.*
ERPP = Early Religious Poetry of Persia (Moulton).
ERE = Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics.
Grundriss or *Grd.* = Geiger and

Kuhn's *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie.*

IF or *Idg. Forsch.* = *Indogermanische Forschungen.*

Le Z(end) *A*(vesta), by Darmesteter.

LAv = Later Avestan.

O.P., M.P., N.P. = Old, Middle, New Persian.

O(rmazd et) *A*(hriman), by Darmesteter.

PSBA = Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology.

RHR = *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.*

Rapp i. = *ZDMG* xix. 1–89; ii. = *ZDMG* xx. 49–140 (1865 f.).

SBE = Sacred Books of the East.

ThLZ = *Theologische Literaturzeitung.*

ZDMG = Journal of the German Oriental Society; *WZKM* = of the Vienna do.; *JAOS* = of the American do.

Zor(oastrische) *St*(udien), by Windischmann.

EARLY ZOROASTRIANISM

LECTURE I

THE SOURCES

Oh that my words were now written!
Oh that they were inscribed in a book!
That with an iron pen and lead
They were graven in the rock for ever!
The Book of Job.

The subject of which I am to treat in these Lectures is one that has in our own country attracted far less attention than it deserves. In the study of the oldest Iranian languages, literatures, and religions we have produced a very few great experts; but we have left it to our cousins in Germany and in the United States to build up a school. It is a highly regrettable state of things, for the Avesta and its religion form a subject of extraordinary interest alike for the philologist and for the student of theology. The very name of the hall in which these lectures are being delivered in London reminds Englishmen of their Parsi fellow-subjects in India. Sir Cowasjee Jehangier, by whose munificence this hall was added to the Imperial Institute, was typical of a small community in Bombay whose influence and importance is altogether out of proportion to its numbers. We shall find as we study the beginnings of Parsism that the religion explains the outstanding excellences of the Parsi people. We shall understand why their fathers long ago preferred death or exile to apostasy. For their great founder Zarathushtra—Zoroaster, as Greeks and Romans called him—must count among the loftiest minds of human history. Of him alone among the prophets of the Gentiles—unless we may enhance Zarathushtra's glory by setting Socrates at his side—we may declare with confidence that he had nothing to say of God that even Christian thought could deem unworthy. There is indeed the profoundest truth in the beautiful familiar story which makes the heirs of Zarathushtra's teaching first among men of foreign tongues to offer homage to the infant Christ. They were worthy of the privilege, for they professed a faith that gave them least to unlearn when welcoming the Teacher who should gather together all the scattered fragments of Truth and "mould them into one immortal feature of loveliness and perfection."

The history of a great religion through some three thousand years is too large a subject for a course like this, and I am obviously compelled to limit the field I shall attempt to occupy. My title announces "early" Zoroastrianism as my subject, and by this I mean in general the period ending with Alexander the Great. I shall overstep this limit only for special reasons which will appear when the occasion arises; and I shall make no pretence of being exhaustive even up to the limit I have named. I am mainly concerned with the origins of the religion, and with the lines on which it diverged in later times from its first model. Zarathushtra himself and the Gathas will accordingly take a primary place in my scheme. I am the less tempted to aim at completeness because my friend Prof. Williams Jackson of Columbia University, who has already written the most authoritative description of Zoroastrianism we possess, in the pages of Geiger-Kuhn's monumental *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, is preparing for English-reading people a treatise which would immediately antiquate my own. I shall try to examine with some fullness a few of the most important aspects of the religion. For the groundwork which has to be presumed, even in the study of a subject that enters into the reading of very few educated people, perhaps I may refer to a little "Cambridge Manual" of my own—*Early Religious Poetry of Persia*—in which I have tried to give a non-technical account of Avestan literature and religion, and have sketched theories which will be the subject of full investigation here.

Before I turn to some necessary preliminary questions bearing on the sources of our knowledge, I should say a few words as to the features which make the earliest period of the history of Parsism the most interesting and important for our study. Some reasons are indeed too obvious to dwell on. In what are sometimes called the "founded" religions the person and teaching of the founder always claim our first attention, and Zarathushtra, dim figure though he is, forms no exception to the rule. Then we remind ourselves that it is in the earliest period that Parsism began most effectively to influence the outside world; while comparatively little was added to its store of ideas in any after time. Moreover, the greatest problems of religious history in Parsism lie within the period I have described. The strange uncertainty which attaches to Zarathushtra's date and country, and the attempts of highly distinguished scholars to relegate him to mythology, will give us plenty to discuss. And our first essays in systematic definition will show us that Parsism is by no means homogeneous. It shows clear signs of a syncretism of sundry very distinct elements, and the work of resolution will prove a valuable exercise in scientific sifting of evidence.

I need not occupy time with any description of the sources, which may be sought in detail in various well-known books, and compendiously in my own little manual mentioned above. I shall only attempt in this Lecture to call attention to some points of importance for my purpose, and to discuss certain vital problems. First among our sources we take those which come to us in Iranian languages. A definition of terms should be interpolated here. Iran is the native form of the folk-name which is familiar to us in derivatives of the Indian *ârya*.[1] I shall use the term Aryan throughout in its proper sense, as the name given to themselves by the easternmost branch of the Indo-European family, which at the dawn of history is found already established across the border of Asia. According to the view now generally held, this means a presumption that the Aryan folk migrated south-east in prehistoric times from a district somewhere in central or northern Europe, where a more or less homogeneous people spoke with some dialectic variations a language which comparative philology has been busy reconstructing.[1] The Aryans proper were still one people at a relatively recent period. E. Meyer places their *Urheimat* in the steppes north of the Black Sea and the Caspian, whence they migrated through South Russia to Turan (Turkestan), the Oxus and Jaxartes. In Eastern Iran they divided. According to Winckler's view of the inferences to be drawn from the inscriptions he discovered at Boghaz-keui, the unity was still intact within the second millennium B.C. Winckler recognises the undivided Aryans in the Harri of his inscriptions, and accordingly the chief gods of the proto-Aryan pantheon in Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, and the Nāsatyau (the Twins) who figure in the treaty between King Subbiliuliuma and Mattiuarza son of Tušratta of Mitanni. In Prof. Söderblom's edition of Tiele's *Compendium der Religionsgeschichte*, p. 219 f., the inscription is claimed as confirming the belief that the Hittites, to whom the Boghaz-keui monuments clearly belong, were of Aryan origin: the names "depend perhaps on a branch of the Aryans slowly pushing their way from the Baltic coasts to their new home in the East." A suggestion that the connexion is rather with India is worked out elsewhere in these Lectures (p. 26); and we may put with it Prof. Jackson's hint[1] that we should be very cautious about drawing conclusions from Boghaz-keui until our information is fuller. "The mention may be merely a direct reference to Indian deities without having any immediate connexion with Iran." The locality is altogether outside Iran, and only Iranian peculiarities of language could force us to accept so early an Iranian migration west. And the names answer only to Indian phonology or that of the undivided Aryans. Prof. Winckler would recognise this Aryan community in Armenia in the fourteenth century, to which the inscriptions belong. Prof. Eduard Meyer accordingly claimed Boghaz-keui as marking "the first entrance of the Aryans into history." Prof. Winckler is content to take the names as evidence that for some reason which we cannot define the deities in question had special significance for the states affected by this treaty. He infers, however, that the undivided Aryans were under Babylonian influence and practised Babylonian writing.[1] On this subject of early Babylonian influences upon Aryan peoples I have said enough elsewhere (p. 236 ff.). Here I would only observe that we know nothing about the movements of Indian or Iranian tribes in the second millennium, and could postulate an ebb from India to the north-west without compromising anything that is really established.[2] The Aryan character of Mitanni names is conjectured on very limited evidence, and may, I think, be quite possibly unsound. But if it is to be accepted, it probably means no more than that the chieftains were Aryan, the people whom they conquered being indigenous.

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[1] The possibility that this name is ultimately identical with one which appears at the other end of the Indo-European area in the Keltic *Ariovistus*, etc., with cognates like the Greek ἄριστος, has been often urged, especially by Fick, who sought to prove that it was the prehistoric name of the undivided Indo-European family. We should then recognise Erin and Iran as kin. But, like so many other obvious word-equations, this is not as easy as it looks, though I cannot regard it as impossible. Bartholomae (*ZAirWb* 118) gives us some necessary cautions about the uncertainty that besets the etymology of folk-names. (See Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, 130 f.)

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[1] Since this book was completed, I have contributed an essay on some points in Iranian ethnography to the volume dedicated to Prof. William Ridgeway on his sixtieth birthday (Cambridge, 1913). On evidence drawn mainly from technical linguistic affinities, I have ventured the conjecture that the migration was considerably later than I thought when I wrote the sentences of this page. I make the founders of the Aryan culture—or rather the speakers of the language in which it expressed itself—to have been a German tribe which made a very rapid trek across Russia, past the north end of the Caspian, into the country north of the Panjâb, into which before very long the bulk of the invading tribe passed on. In the period of these hypothetical movements the Indo-European dialects had not yet become mutually unintelligible. I may recall here that Prof. Hirt (*Die Indogermanen*, p. 22) places the first migrations as late as 1600–1800 B.C.

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[1] In *ERE* iv. 620.

We must postpone speculation upon the innumerable possibilities of this discovery till Winckler can follow it further. It is enough to observe here that the Indian branch moved off to the Panjâb only when a very distinctive language, civilisation, and religion had been evolved out of the inherited forms the immigrant Aryans had brought with them across the steppes. The comparative method enables us to reconstruct this "Aryan period"[3] with a considerable degree of precision. With the results of such reconstruction we shall be very much occupied later on. There was a time when the legitimacy of this whole method was fiercely contested by a school which insisted on the infallibility of the native Iranian traditional interpretation of the Avesta; while the comparative school retaliated with an equally thoroughgoing contempt. Reconciliation has long been established between the rival methods by the recognition that both are indispensable, and a knowledge of the religion of the Veda is acknowledged to be an essential tool of our science just as much as that of the expositions handed down to us by the Parsi guardians of the Avesta.

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[1] See *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* for July 1910.

[2] See a later passage in this Lecture, p. 25 f.

[3] *Die arische Periode* is the title of a monograph by Fr. Spiegel, the great Iranian pioneer. It was published in 1887, and of course needs checking by later research.

Having thus recognised the claim of prehistoric sources, we come to what must of course be the primary source of our knowledge of Zoroastrianism. The meaning of the name Avesta need not detain us,[1] nor the romantic story of its discovery by Anquetil Duperron and the distressingly wrong-headed scepticism with which the magnificent achievement was rewarded. These controversies, like those that raged later between rival schools of interpretation, have only a historical interest for us to-day. The great majority of scholars would say nearly as much of the controversy to which I propose to devote the major part of this lecture. But the denial of the antiquity of the Gathas and the historical reality of Zarathushtra is so fundamental that I am bound to deal with the question, the more so as the negative view is enshrined in the Introduction to the

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[1] Geldner approves the suggestion of Andreas, that *Avistâk* comes from *upastā*, the "foundation text," of which the *Zand* (Zend) is the (Pahlavi or Middle Persian) translation and commentary. This suits the facts very well, but we cannot say more. I shall discard the incorrect term "Zend-Avesta" for the book, and (though less willingly) the conveniently brief term "Zend" for the language, using regularly Gathas and Later Avesta for the one, Gathic and Later Avestan for the other. It seems best to retain the familiar "Vendidad," even if it is a misreading for *Vîdêvdât*.

English translation of the Avesta in *Sacred Books of the East*, a work which English readers may be pardoned for regarding as infallible.

It is now nearly twenty years since James Darmesteter[1] startled the world of scholarship with his daring paradox, according to which the Gathas must be regarded as owing their most central conceptions to Philo of Alexandria, or to a school of thought of which Philo is the leading exponent. The theory, as Prof. Mills has well reminded us,[2] involves a revolutionary change from its author's earlier beliefs, as represented, for instance, in the first edition of his English Avesta. And within a year or so of its appearance the great Orientalist died, after crowding into his brief span a marvellous output, conditioned by the consciousness that for him the night was soon coming, wherein no man can work. It is due to his fame to remember that he never had before him the all but unanimous judgement of his fellow-students, in the light of which he might well have reverted to his earlier opinions. I need not, I think, go into detail, since with one notable exception the theory has never attracted any Iranian scholar of the first rank. But since nearly every page of these Lectures would be radically affected if we were no longer allowed to regard the Gathas as by far the oldest part of the Avesta, and centuries older than Philo, I must set forth the main grounds on which orthodoxy repels with confidence the new scepticism, as represented in Darmesteter's latest work, and to a modified extent in Prof. Franz Cumont's famous book on Mithraism.

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[1] *Le Zend-Avesta* (Paris, 1893), introduction to vol. iii.; and *SBE* iv. pp. xxxi–lxix. See a convenient list of criticisms in Bousset, *Judentum*, 547n.

[2] *Zarathushtra, Philo, the Achæmenids, and Israel* (1905–6), p. 10.

The sum of Darmesteter's case against the antiquity of the Gathas is really concentrated in the assertion that Philo's *λόγος θεῖος* is the original of the Amshaspand "Good Thought."[1] Incidentally, of course, this carries with it the lateness of all passages in the Later Avesta which name this or the other Amshaspands. Darmesteter does not tell us why Philo or the school to which he belonged may not have derived the conception from Iranian sources, if either party is to be convicted of borrowing. Moreover, his admission that only one other of Philo's six *λόγοι* or *δυνάμεις* can be compared with a member of the Zoroastrian hexad (the Amesha Spenta), is fatal to any close connexion between the two systems. The central equation itself is by no means axiomatic. "Good Thought" is at any rate no translation of *λόγος θεῖος*, and the functions of the two have only superficial identity. As we see below (p. 98), the Ameshas have features of proto-Aryan antiquity, and their non-appearance in Achæmenian religion can be accounted for on a very different theory. When Darmesteter says (p. lxvii), "A Magus of the old days . . . would not have spoken of the earth as Spenta Ârmaiti," he seems to have overlooked the evidence that Aramati was genius of the earth in India, and therefore presumably in Aryan times.[2] It is very easy to grant much of what Darmesteter urges as to foreign elements in the later parts of the Parsi sacred literature, though few scholars would now care to regard Judaism as a source of such. Cumont, in the first chapter of his great work, urges the fundamental differences between Achæmenian religion and the Avesta, which in this case will include not only the Vendidad but the Gathas. But this, as we see elsewhere, only means that Zarathushtra himself had not kept a secure hold in the kingdom of Darius, nor the Magi yet gained one among the Persian nobility. We may remove the Gathas from the sphere of Cyrus and Darius in space as well as in time; and we may give what date we please to Zarathushtra, and yet allow that the full effects of his teaching were not yet seen in Persia at the period where history opens.

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[1] *Vohū Manah*, also "Best (*vahištəm*) Thought," or "Thy (*θwəm*) Thought" in addressing Ahura Mazdâh.

[2] Unless Carnoy is right in denying the truth of Sāyaṇa's statements (on *Rigveda*, vii. 36^8 and viii. 42^3): see *Muséon*, n.s., xiii.

Darmesteter's account of the transmission of the Avesta, based on the Parsi tradition, undeniably predisposes the reader to infer that an accurate reproduction of a really ancient scripture was impossible. Tradition told how the twenty-one Nasks were lost in the invasion of Alexander; how the Parthian king Valkhash (= Vologeses I., a contemporary of Nero, according to Darmesteter) ordered the scattered remnants to be collected; and how the founder of the Sassanian dynasty, Ardashîr, and his successor Shâhpûhr, completed the canon two centuries later. *A priori* there seems every reason to suppose that the ultimate resultant would have but little of the

133 n[1]. I do not think Carnoy adequately accounts for the genesis of the Indian commentator's gloss, the coincidence of which with the Avesta gives a very strong presumption of its originality.

authentic and ancient about it, and a great deal of heterogeneous Sassanian thought. But when we have to give chapter and verse for a claim that this has really happened, it is astonishing how little can be produced. In particular we have a test, that of metre, which by itself suffices to demonstrate the originality of the Gathas and of large portions of the Later Avesta. Darmesteter frankly admits that the Gathas were written in a dead language, if his date is to hold. Let us try to realise what this involves.

There is, of course, no antecedent impossibility in such composition. All of us who have written Greek and Latin verse in our undergraduate days know that composition in a dead language is possible enough, granted very careful study of accurately preserved models, and of scientific grammars. Such work as that which charms us in Walter Headlam's *Book of Greek Verse* proves that it can be done supremely well. But where were the models, and the grammars? Sanskrit has been written for ages since it ceased to be a living language—thanks to Pāṇini, and the preservation of an immense literature. Have the very names of Pāṇini's Iranian comrades perished? And what about existing Gathic verses on which the priests of the first century modelled their own so cleverly? We are to suppose that the innovating Neoplatonist Magi used this ancient literature to help them, and then committed it to the care of the sacred fire, lest their new-fangled Amshaspands should be found out. It hardly seems probable. Darmesteter's earth rests on an elephant, which stands on a tortoise. And the tortoise? Oh, *n'importe!*

But this is only the beginning of the difficulties in which the hypothesis is involved. These marvellous men of the first century A.D. had *two* dead languages to wrestle with, not one alone! If the coins of the Scythian kings Kanishka and Huvishka (78–130 A.D.) prove by the legends Σαορηοαρ (Shahrêvar) for Khshathra Vairya, and the like, that Gathic Avestan was dead, they prove equally that the Avestan of the Yashts was supplanted by Pahlavi. At the very least we must assume that the poets of the Yashts lived in another province, where a different literature in another dead language was preserved, and a second remarkably accurate grammatical tradition. Or perhaps, while we are for postulating miracles, we may heighten the one instead of devising a second. Our grammarians, the peers of their famous Indian brethren, were able to preserve both dialects and keep them well differentiated; they were the guardians of two literatures, one of which has vanished wholly in favour of the forged Gathas, and the other has left an uncertain quantity of fragments behind, mingled with the new imitations. This, too, seems hardly probable.

We come then to the special test anticipated above. The Gathas are confessedly in metre, and so are large portions of the Yashts and later Yasna. The *metrik* of Gathas and Yashts is very different, and the one metre that governs all the verse of the Later Avesta is identic in principle with the *çloka* of the later, classical Sanskrit, but more primitive, inasmuch as no sense of quantity has yet affected the prosody.[1]

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[1] I had better quote what I have written in *ERPP* 24 f., in a chapter devoted to Avestan verse terms:—

"We have noted that from first to last Avestan verse shows no sign of dependence on quantity. Long and short syllables are

Gathic metre is equally primitive in this respect, but is more varied and original in its terms. But the most instructive feature of Gathic prosody is the fact that a multitude of forms refuse to scan as they stand in the MSS. correctly spelt after the standards of a later day. Thus in the early stanzas of the first Gatha we find χ^{v}*āθrē*, *Ârmaitiš*, *vāurōimaidī*, where the metre demands three, four, and five syllables respectively. Etymology and comparison with Vedic enable us to read *huvāθrē*, *Aramaitiš*, *vāvarōimaidī*, which suit the

entirely indifferent, and the student of prosody has only to count and not to weigh. Now the verse of the Veda has manifestly passed into a new and more developed stage, in which (as Prof. Arnold puts it) 'preferences arise for long and short syllables and for groups of these, at certain points in the verse.' Nor is this the only mark of development on the Indian side. The rules of vowel-combination which in the Rigveda (according to Whitney) cause a vowel-ending to coalesce with a vowel initial in the next word about seven times for every one in which hiatus is left, mark a great change from the conditions found in the Avesta, where this '*sandhi*' is relatively rare. This all means that the Rigveda belongs to a very much more advanced stage of literary evolution than any part of the Avesta, although the latest Avestan poetry must be centuries later in date than the latest hymns of the Rigveda. Indian literary development was clearly a hothouse plant. The Vedic poets belonged to a regular craft, like Pindar; and the bardic families had no doubt been elaborating the lines of their models for generations before our oldest extant hymn was composed. In Persia, on the other hand, it was well-nigh two thousand years before poets arose who cared much for literary form. We may not therefore argue that the more primitive system of Gathic verse gives the Hymns of Zarathushtra higher antiquity than the oldest Indian poetry with its abundant marks of literary development. But when we set this mark of primitive simplicity by the side of the evidence from language, which makes us recognise Gathic to lie at least as near as Vedic to the parent Aryan, we feel it increasingly difficult to acquiesce in the traditional date for the Prophet, if the Vedic poets are not to be brought down out of the second millennium B.C."

metrical requirements. Geldner's early work, *Über die Metrik des jüngeren Avesta* (Tübingen, 1877), proved the existence of similarly hidden metre in all the verse parts of Yashts, later Yasna, and Vendidad. In these, however, the verse is perpetually interrupted by prose, which usually betrays its unoriginal character by internal evidence as well as by its failure to scan. It is clear, therefore, that the secret of Later Avestan prosody was lost when the interpolations were made. The Gathas were much better preserved, and the verse form is relatively less often interrupted by misspelling, and practically never by interpolation. They were doubtless kept from injury by constant repetition with traditional music: if the music was wanting in the recitations of the Later Avesta, the wholesale accretions of prose glosses is accounted for.

Having thus explained how the Gathas came to be preserved in a form which enables modern science to restore their metre with ease and certainty, we may go on to observe how minutely accurate is their language according to the tests of modern philology. Gathic inflexions are found to answer with uniform exactitude to those of Vedic Sanskrit, or to differ in perfectly explicable ways, the Gathic type being often more primitive. The 1st sing. act. pres. *vaχšyā* is older than Vedic *-āmi*, the dat. sing. *Ahurāi* than the Vedic *asurāya*. That first-century compositions, written in a dead language which only the priests knew, could have been made proof against the microscopic tests of twentieth-century science is unlikely enough.[1] It is equally unlikely that men with only religious interests in view would have taken the trouble to cultivate linguistic accuracy. They had a public far less critical than that on which Chatterton palmed off his Rowley Poems.

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[1] This statement does not involve a claim that the Gathas are impeccable in grammar. The recurrent use of instrumental case

The verisimilitude of the Gathic picture of Zarathushtra, his friends and his foes, is the subject of comment elsewhere. It is hard to see how anyone could make it into an elaborate myth. Too crabbed and allusive to be invented, too natural and at times even trivial to bear any allegorical meaning, the fragments of biography discoverable in the Gathas attach themselves without a suggestion of difficulty to a real man, doing a great work among many adversaries, but triumphant at last in the establishment of a pure and practical religion. The Zarathushtra of the later Avesta rarely suggests the possibility of anything but myth. But to make the Reformer into a legend on the strength of the absurdities that gathered round his name is as reasonable as to make the *Cyropædia* a pretext for doubting the existence of Cyrus, or the Apocryphal Gospels a triumphant vindication of the universal scepticism of Robertson[1]

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for nominative may perhaps be assumed to have some syntactical ground, though it is hard to find one. But occasional lapses like the agreement of instr. and locative in *Ys* 31^{13} (as Prof. Jackson notes) may be the exceptions that prove the rule.

[1] The mention of Mr J. M. Robertson reminds me that the historicity of Zarathushtra goes the same way as that of every other notable figure of religious origins in his *Pagan Christs*—"Menu [*sic !*], Lycurgus, Numa, Moses" (*op. cit.*^{2}, 238), with of course Buddha and Jesus of Nazareth. It is ill arguing with a polymath who can set Prof. Rhys Davids right about Buddhism, and all the Iranists about Parsism—except, by the way, Geldner and Bartholomae, of whom he does not seem to have heard ! The cool confidence with which he declares the Gathas inconsistent with the reality of Zarathushtra's

and Drews. The Zarathushtra of the Gathas is historical, and in my judgement he himself is speaking there, wholly or nearly so.[1] And here, as I have indicated, I am only echoing all the most recent criticism. Geldner and Bartholomae are emphatic on the subject, and Prof. Jackson endorses what I have written here. (He notes incidentally that "when Zarathushtra speaks in the third person, he is simply anticipating by a millennium and a half all other Persian poets.") If this claim is allowed, we see the last possibility vanish of dating the poems late enough to be influenced by Platonism, for we certainly can find no room for him in any part of Iran that could feel Greek influence during the centuries of Achæmenian and Arsacide rule.

The only live question as to the age of the Gathas concerns our choice between the traditional date and a higher antiquity. Since a large proportion of the Gathic verses distinctly profess to come from Zarathushtra himself, and parts which do not so profess show every sign of contemporary date, we may treat the antiquity of the Prophet and that of the Gathas together: there is no discoverable argument for distrusting the overwhelming impression that the hymns

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person will only induce those who have really studied the Gathas to discount other dicta in this work of biassed and unscientific learning —"pre-philological," as Dr F. C. Conybeare well called it in his severe review (*Literary Guide and Rationalist Review*, Dec. 1912).

[1] Prof. Söderblom says (*La Vie Future*, 245), "C'est au viiᵉ siècle que l'on peut placer, *au plus tard*, Zarathuštra et peut-être les Gâthas qui sont pourtant, selon toute vraisemblance, considérablement postérieures au prophète." It seems to me that there are many passages in the Gathas which become unintelligible if we separate them from the Founder's own circle.

make upon our minds when the mythological microbe has been removed. For an earlier date—to quote only writers later than Prof. Jackson's classical dissertation[1]—stand Profs. Geldner and Bartholomae. The former says[2]:—

> If, then, the gāthās reach back to the time of Zoroaster, and he himself, according to the most probable estimate, lived as early as the fourteenth century B.C., the oldest component parts of the *Avesta* are hardly inferior in age to the oldest Vedic hymns.

And Prof. Bartholomae writes (*AirWb* 1675, s.v. *Zaraθuštra*):—

> While I hold fast to Zarathushtra's historical character, I regard it as hopeless to determine precisely the period of his appearance. According to the native chronology (see West, *SBE* xlvii., p. xxviii), Zarathushtra's birth falls in the year 660 B.C., and Jackson (*Zoroaster*, 174) regards this as essentially reliable: "The period . . . just before the Achæmenian power (is) the approximate date of Zoroaster's life." I believe we shall have to begin decidedly further back; and I estimate Jackson's investigation as Tiele does in *Geschichte der Religion in Altertum*,[2] ii. 275 and 430.

Bartholomae's *ipse dixit* in rejecting Jackson's argument will carry much weight, but I hardly think that the reasons he actually states are very weighty. The general criticism of Jackson's *Zoroaster*, that it sets down a mass of matter, probable and improbable, without attempting to sift it, may or may not be justified: for my part, I have never read the book as suggesting that Prof. Jackson accepts all or any of the non-Gathic stories he collects. But in any case it cannot apply to a dissertation in which the author does most elaborately sift and discuss the credibility of the various elements in the tradition. Nor does it seem to me that the native chronology stands condemned because in *Yt* 13^{97} the holy Saēna is credited with a hundred pupils, and the chronology further makes him born on the centenary of the Religion, to die on its bicentenary. We might take something off all these centuries and yet hold that other elements in the system are approximately sound. I say this, though myself frankly unconvinced that the traditional date of Zarathushtra is early enough. I do not feel that we can dogmatise, but I cannot help rather accentuating Prof. Jackson's own admission that we could do with a longer time allowance. I will just state the desiderata, and leave the case, as I fear it must be left, with the traditional date as a minimum antiquity and a desire for a few more generations.

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[1] See his *Zoroaster*, pp. 150 ff., where ancient views of the date of Zarathushtra are summed up, and the case presented for the date that stands in the Parsi tradition, viz. 660–583 B.C. His argument is endorsed by Justi, Casartelli, and West.

[2] *Enc. Brit.*^{11}, xxi. 246. But in xxviii. 1041 he quotes E. Meyer's date, viz. 1000 B.C., and adds: "This, in its turn, may be too high, but, in any case, Zoroaster belongs to a prehistoric era." The volumes of the new edition boast their simultaneousness, but here an exercise in higher criticism seems to detect a time interval and a change of view.

To begin with, we seem to need time to bring Gathic nearer in date to the Veda. The closeness of Gathic and Vedic is extremely marked, and, as already observed, the Gathic is in many respects the more primitive. Vedic metre is decidedly more advanced than Gathic, as we saw just now.[1] Now of course we can argue that a poetical school might develop in two generations what ten generations might not produce in a kindred people with a less decided taste. And since the Iranians remained within the area occupied by the united Aryan people,[1] we can plead that they would naturally change in language less rapidly than the tribes which migrated into the new environment of India. Further, it may well be argued that we cannot date the Vedic poetry safely within a good many centuries, though expert opinion seems generally to assume that its earlier developments at least lie well beyond the limits of the first millennium B.C. But when we have allowed for all these considerations, a feeling remains that we have not removed an *a priori* probability that a very few centuries at most should separate the two literatures, and that therefore we must put the Gathas as early as we can.

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[1] See p. 14. In connection with Aryan *Metrik* it is interesting to note the Gathic *vaf*, "sing praise," which properly means "weave" (*cf.* ῥαψῳδός). The development of meaning implies a rather long poetical tradition, well established before the Aryan tribes divided.

Next comes the problem of fitting in the Gatha Haptanghaiti. It is in prose, but this must not weigh with us; for the prose, being uniform, was doubtless due to deliberate choice, and not to the disappearance of Gathic *ars metrica*. But while it is in the Gathic dialect, and must apparently come from an age when the dialect was still a living idiom, its range of ideas differs startlingly from that of the verse Gathas. The most characteristic conceptions of Zarathushtra are thrust out by those of the old Aryan nature-worship. Apart from *Ys* 42, which Prof. Mills treats as an appendix (probably enough), the name of Zarathushtra does not appear; and if we give up our claim that the Amesha Spenta were in some sense his special creation, we might put this Gatha before the

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[1] See *ERPP*, 31 f.

Prophet's time. It is, however, highly unlikely that prose should appear so early, and we seem compelled to allow the lapse of time enough to account for the gap that separates these compositions from the Gathas proper. Include *Ys* 42 (or its second stanza, which alone mentions Zarathushtra), and we are in a community that worships the Prophet but ignores the spirit of his teaching: omit it, and we see the Mazdayasnian folk as oblivious of him as the royal author of the Behistan Inscription. Either alternative demands an adequate interval of time, unless perhaps place will serve, and the seven chapters may come from a district untouched as yet by the Reform. This involves (1) that the dialect of the postulated district was identical, or had been assimilated to the Gathic in transmission, and (2) that the Ameshas are older than the Reform and independent of it. This question we must discuss separately. Under this heading, then, again we have a problem of which the easiest and simplest solution comes by way of an enlarged time limit, though the argument admits of alternatives. We look at the case for the tradition, and once more we are left indecisively balancing probabilities.

Thirdly, we need time most of all for the immense development that lies between Gathas and Yashts. As in the Gatha Haptanghaiti, there has been here a most marked return to the Aryan religion as it was before the Reform, and in thought as in metre the Yashts lie closer to Indian models than anything in the Gathas. There is also here the decidedly later form of the language. It may very possibly (see p. 23 f.) be connected with geographical separation. But here there is also the certainty of later date, which has produced *inter alia* the apotheosis of Zarathushtra. Unless we are minded to excise all references to the Founder as belonging to another age—though on the verse test many of them must be as old as any other part of the Yashts—we have to grant a considerable period for the growth of this total revolution in the conception of Zarathushtra and the religion. And if we ask how late we may put the earliest Yashts, we are met with a chorus of vetoes when we try to get past Alexander. Are two and a half centuries long enough to account for all these developments? I cannot pronounce the emphatic No. But I think the considerations here advanced may make us disposed to hear the counsel for the tradition and then bring in a verdict of Not Proven.

On the subject of the date of the Yashts it is necessary to say a little more, since their date more or less affects the antiquity of the Gathas. I am on this matter in complete agreement with my friend Prof. Jackson, who places the Yashts in the period just before Alexander. Notices of Zarathushtra's successor Saēna influence his decision, and the remarkable coincidence of the Anahita Yasht with the records of Artaxerxes Mnemon and his encouragement of her cult. As we shall see in Lecture II., the accounts we possess of the religious conditions of the later Achæmenian period suit the contents of the Yashts very closely. That the two centuries allowed by this date give room for the Gathas is to me, as I have said, increasingly hard to believe, when the two gaps have to be allowed for — between the verse Gathas and the Haptanghaiti, and between this and the Yashts.

There are, however, one or two other indications of date in the Later Avesta which should be examined, the more so as they affect the fundamental inquiry as to the districts from which we may assume the various parts of the Avesta to have come. I have sought further the help of my friend Mr E. W. Maunder of Greenwich Observatory, as to the data provided by the Tishtrya Yasht.[1] He now raises a difficulty affecting the latitude. The four "Regent" stars, guarding the four quarters of the sky, seem to be identifiable as Sirius (*Tištrya*), the Great Bear (*Hapto-iringa*), Vega (*Vanant*), and Fomalhaut (*Satavaēsa*), the first two being quite certain and the last two most probable. These stars would all be above the horizon together, and not far from it for the latitude 38° N. and the epoch 400 B.C. They lie about 90° apart, and when Sirius is rising they would guard respectively the East, North, West and South.[1] But Mr Maunder now notes that it seems "very unlikely that even in the clear air of the Iranian plateau two stars would attract attention at the moment when both were on the horizon, and one of them [Fomalhaut] was setting; and even if they were noticed they would only be seen together for a few moments." "If we take latitude 30°, then Sirius, Fomalhaut, and Vega, and the seven stars of the Great Bear, would be visible together at the rising of Sirius from about 300 B.C. to 800 B.C. They would all be above the horizon together for a considerably longer period, but either Fomalhaut or the star at the tip of the Bear's tail would be getting too near the horizon to make it likely that it would be actually observed." So far we are being led to seek the Yasht country in Arachosia, which would suit very well, especially as it enables us to locate the Gathas in the north, in Bactria, and the Yashts half way towards India: their closer relation to the Vedas is noted elsewhere.

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[1] See note in *ERPP*, 132: it will be convenient to quote it:—"On this point, where the authorities differ considerably, and there is no evidence how far the opinions expressed are supported by experts in a field very far away from that of the Zendist, I have thought it well to consult my friend the Rev. R. Killip, F.R.A.S., who has kindly secured for me a further opinion from Mr E. W. Maunder of Greenwich Observatory. Mr Maunder, assuming the latitude 38° N. (about that of Merv) and the epoch of 400 B.C., says that at the moment of Sirius' rising (E.S.E.), Fomalhaut was setting (S.W. by S.), Vega being 18° high (N.W. by W.) and the Great Bear wholly visible, with η on the meridian, sub-polar. 'Reviewing the whole problem, the most *symmetrical* solution would obviously be to take the four as Sirius, Fomalhaut, Vega, and Charles' Wain. All four would be close to the horizon, and would be 90° apart, the figure being a little slewed round with regard to the meridian.' Mr Maunder discusses some other stars, and makes some interesting suggestions as to the possibility of using the legend for determining the date—a tempting line, but beyond our limits here. The stars I have given are the same as those for which Geiger decides (*Civilisation of the Eastern Iranians*, i 141), but he puts Satavaēsa in the West, wrongly interpreting the Pahlavi evidence (Bartholomae)." See *Bd* 2^7 (*SBE*, v. 12).

But there are more serious difficulties to come. The Yasht seems to point unmistakably to the period of the heliacal rising of Sirius, the time when after seventy days' invisibility he first emerges victorious and shines in the morning before the rising of the Sun. But Mr Maunder notes that "when Sirius rises heliacally the other stars practically disappear. The dawn would overcome all the fainter stars." Further, for latitude 30° and 400 B.C., the heliacal rising of Sirius was about July 13: it is some three weeks later now. "But on the Iranian plateau, anywhere you like to take from the Gulf of Oman to the Caspian Sea, or further north to Merv, July is one of the driest months of the year. It is, indeed, the beginning of the rainless season. The rains of the whole region between the Persian Gulf and Turkestan are *winter rains* beginning in November." It seems clear that these facts knock a very serious hole in our interpretation of the Yasht and drive us to find its meaning in a very different quarter.

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[1] More exactly, S.E., N.E., N.W., and S.W.

And here my astronomer helpers are ready with a suggestion which is little less than sensational. "Reading the Tir Yasht again, my wife and I are greatly impressed, and the impression has grown with every reading, that it is practically, in mythological guise, a description of the breaking of the south-west monsoon. But this is Indian, and does not spread to Persia. If, therefore, Tištar means the heliacal rising of Sirius, it would suit very well meteorologically for the breaking of the monsoon in the regions round Delhi, Ajmir, Jaipur, and that district."

Did then the Tishtrya myth originate in India? If it did, Mr Maunder's information further helps us. "If we could go as far south as 25 degrees, then the four chieftains would all be visible together at the rising of Sirius from about 900 B.C. as far back as I have gone, which is about 1800 B.C." Now, suppose the myth is really Indian, and arose well back in the second millennium. We are very short of straw for our bricks, but I cannot resist a tentative effort, even if the brick is doomed to crumble under criticism.

Might the Tishtrya myth be one relic of a prehistoric migration out of India backwards to the north-west, of which the Indian gods at Boghaz-keui (p. 5) mark the limit? I see no *a priori* reason why there should not have been an ebb of the tide: some tribes after trying India for a generation or two might well strike back for some reason or other. If something of this kind happened, we have an additional stimulus for the primitive Aryan religious conditions observable in the Yashts, and for other features in which we see them markedly nearer Indian conditions than the much older Gathas.[1]

Before I leave this astronomical speculation I may mention that Mrs Maunder has been examining the date of the original form of the Bundahish[2] and arguing for the middle of the first century A.D. I must not stay to comment on this interesting conclusion, which only indirectly concerns "Early Zoroastrianism." But as I must quote the Bundahish often, on the assumption that it contains much fairly early matter, it is worth chronicling that an acute specialist in another field of research sees reason to place it at this relatively early epoch. With this let us pass on to another possible chronological datum of a different kind.

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[1] For a perhaps rather daring speculation as to the prehistoric movements of the Aryan-speaking tribes, I may refer to my essay referred to above (p. 5, note). Here I have examined the linguistic affinity of Sanskrit with the West Indo-European languages. The whole mass of the *satəm* languages cuts off Sanskrit from them; and yet they agree in the preservation of a distinction between *bh dh gh* and *b d g*, which the *satəm* groups confused. Certain other affinities suggest that a Germanic tribe migrated very rapidly from the West, perhaps in the middle of the second millennium, before the Indo-European dialects were very much differentiated, and imposed their language on a *satəm* folk in Bactria or the neighbourhood. When the Indian section pushed southwards, the language of the Gathic people left behind was gradually assimilated to the Iranian around. The reader is asked not to judge the theory from this summary!

[2] In *The Observatory*, October 1912. In the two following months Mrs Maunder pursues the subject, and I am very sorry that I cannot stay to summarise her argument, which students of the Parsi classics ought to read. But I must mention that she and Mr Maunder, who reinforces her argument in a letter to me, try to prove that *Tištrya* in the Yasht means not Sirius but the Sun. Their strongest proof is that in the Bundahish account of the conflict with Apaosha,

The nineteenth Yasht, as Darmesteter observes, "would serve as a short history of the Iranian monarchy, an abridged Shâh Nâmeh." If so, we can hardly help attaching significance of some kind to its silences. The royal succession comes down to Vishtaspa, and passes on immediately to Saoshyant (who in the Yashts is a purely supernatural figure), to appear in the future at the Frashokereti. It seems fair to argue that the Yasht could hardly have omitted the great names of Cyrus and Darius, if it was composed in Persia several centuries after their time. But here as usual the *argumentum e silentio* admits of a good many alternatives. A section in honour of

Tishtrya is said to be "in Cancer," which of course no orthodox Dogstar could be. I should have to assume that the Bundahish source was a little "mixed" in its astronomy, unless Mrs Maunder's hint can be used that "Sirius rose heliacally at Delhi when the Sun was in Cancer, in the month Tîr, and the breaking of the monsoon was in suspense." That Greek writers [late, with the doubtful exception of Archilochus] confuse the Dogstar and the Sun suggests to Mr Maunder that the brightest of the stars was regarded as his representative. But Greek evidence, at anyrate, seems to make the star name come first. In the Excursus (p. 435 f.) I suggest that *Tīra* was distinct from *Tištrya* and used to represent the planet Mercury. The clear statement of Plutarch (below, p. 402) shows that Sirius was very prominent in the Magian system.

Darius and his successors might even have been suppressed under the Arsacides, more philhellene than the Greeks themselves; or other causes might be invoked to explain a loss which was so painfully easy in centuries in which it is the survival and not the disappearance of Avestan texts that moves our wonder. Or, again, geographical separation may be the key to our problem. We can hardly study the long lists of manifestly genuine but utterly unknown names in *Yt* 13 without asking whether the scene of all this mysterious literature may not lie in some part of Iran which has never entered the stream of history. Here again, then, we are making bricks without straw.

A *terminus a quo* seems to be presented with considerable probability in *Yt* 13^{16}, on which I may repeat what I wrote recently in ***ERPP***, p. 141 f.

"In l.^{16} we read how the Fravashis cause a man to be born who is a master in assemblies and skilled in sacred lore, so that he 'comes away from debate' a victor over '*Gaotəma*.' Now Gotama, which answers exactly to this, is a Vedic proper name, and Bartholomae is satisfied with recognising an otherwise unknown unbeliever. Geldner (in 1877) took it as a common noun. But the temptation to see here Gautama the Buddha is extremely strong. Darmesteter says that Buddhism had established a footing in Western Iran as early as the second century B.C. Prof. Cowell used to point out that *praçna*, the cognate of the word rendered 'debate' just now, was a prominent word in Buddhism.[1] On the same side is a concise and telling argument in Prof. Jackson's *Zoroaster*, p. 177 f. Accepting this view, first suggested by Haug, we are, in Darmesteter's opinion, brought down to the age of the Arsacid dynasty; but there hardly seems adequate reason for rejecting the possibility that isolated missionaries of Buddhism might have been found in Iran many generations earlier, and Prof. Jackson gives a good argument for this earlier date drawn from the Yasht itself. One might even hazard the suggestion that the mistake by which the name of Gautama is transferred to a man who preached Gautama's gospel, may be due to the very fact that the preaching was thus isolated, that Buddhism was still almost unknown."

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[1] But it must be noted that *frašna* appears in *Yt* 5^{81}, where the wizard *Aχtya* asks 99 questions of the holy *Yōišta,* which he answers: the wizard is an Iranian Sphinx, but rather resembles this "Gaotema."

Prof. Jackson (*l.c.*) points out that in l.[97] of the same Yasht mention is made of Saēna, whose date is on the traditional chronology 531–431 B.C. (see above, p. 19), and who "might therefore have been a contemporary with Buddha." "In the case of Gaotəma as of Saēna," Prof. Jackson proceeds, "the Yasht may be alluding to one who is born after Zarathushtra, and may be hurling anathemas against an opposing and heretical religion (and that religion Buddhism) which began to flourish about the same time as the Yasht may have been written."

One witness from antiquity should be mentioned before we leave the subject, especially as it might seem to tell in favour of the Sassanian date of the Avesta. In the latter half of the third century A.D. the philosopher Porphyry writes thus—the original may be seen in Jackson's *Zoroaster*, p. 243:—

> Yourself, Porphyrius, have written several criticisms upon the book of Zoroaster, showing it to be a recent forgery

> concocted by partisans of the sect [of the Gnostics, apparently] with a view to commending doctrines they have set themselves to propagate as if they came from the ancient Zoroaster.

Now of course these words would be completely justified if, as Darmesteter asserted, the part of the Sassanian king Ardashir (211–241 A.D.) and his high priest Tansar in gathering the Avestan texts was that of composition rather than collection. And it is no part of our case to deny that Tansar busied himself in both ways. Porphyry is not likely to have secured first-hand witness of what happened at the court of the Persian king; and there would be little difficulty in making out a plausible case for a wholesale forgery of Zoroastrian texts in the fervour of the revival. But the philosopher's language suits much better some Gnostic work, an anticipation of Manichean teaching which used the hoary name of the Iranian Prophet after the familiar manner of pseudepigraphic literature. Vishtaspa's name was notoriously thus employed. I need not further argue that even if Porphyry was accurately recalling the literary activity of the newly established Sassanians, which began not long before he was born, our case for the antiquity of the Gathas is not affected.

One more argument bearing on the date of the Gathas remains to be mentioned. Prof. Eduard Meyer, with Geldner's approval, urges from the appearance of *Mazdaka* as a proper name in Media as early as 715 B.C. that "the Zoroastrian religion must even then have been predominant in Media" (Geldner in *Enc. Brit.*). But, as Prof. Jackson notes, the name in question may come from *mazdāh* just as well as *Mazdāh*: even in the Gathas the word is not invariably a proper name. But there is a far stronger piece of evidence than the name Mazdaka could supply, even if we allowed that it is a theophoric appellation. Prof. Hommel's discovery of the divine name *Assara Mazāš* in an Assyrian inscription of the reign of Assur-bani-pal[1] involves an antiquity for the name Ahura Mazdah higher than any scholar could venture to assign to Zarathushtra, whose claim to the authorship of this characteristic title must, I fear, be abandoned. The inscription itself is rather later than the date of the name Mazdaka, but the archaic form of Ahura Mazdah's name takes us back at least into the second millennium, and some way back. To the phonetic indications described elsewhere[2] may be added the fact that *Assara Mazāš* is followed by the seven good spirits of heaven (*Igigi*) and the seven evil spirits of earth (*Anunnaki*). This means that the deity has been pretty thoroughly assimilated to Semitic conditions, as we shall see when we come to discuss the bearing of these facts on the problem of the Amshaspands. Phonetic and historical evidence therefore converge on the deduction that the name *Ahura Mazdâh*, in an earlier form, was in existence long before Zarathushtra. Asura - Ahura being already a generic name for the highest deities, we have to postulate the addition of a cult epithet "the Wise," attached to one great deity[3]; some would say

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[1] See *Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archæology*, 1899, p. 132. I have to thank Dr C. H. W. Johns for the reference, the importance of which has been largely overlooked.

[2] See the detached note below, p. 422 f.

[3] I may mention here a daring conjecture of my friend Prof. H. M. Chadwick. Starting from the fact that the Semitists seem

Varuṇa, who in the Veda forms a pair with Mitra, as Ahura and Mithra do in the Yasht addressed to the latter. Probably this took place in a very limited circle, so that long after on the Behistan Rock Ahura Mazdah could be called "god of the Aryans," that is, presumably the nobles of Aryan race living among a people largely or mainly of a different stock, indigenous to the country.

I pass on from what might seem to be a digression, were it not that candour seems to demand the examination of an argument which proves to contribute nothing reliable towards the evidence for the antiquity of the Gathas. We shall not need it, I venture to urge, after weighing the considerations already brought forward. The position of Cumont must be sketched before we leave the Avesta. One sentence will, however, suffice for our present purpose. "A fact which cannot to-day be contested," he says,[1] "is that Avestan Zoroastrianism, whatever its antiquity, was not practised by all the inhabitants of ancient Iran." He emphasises the contrasts between the Avestan ritual and the cultus of the Achæmenian kings, points out that Mithraism is nearer to their religion than is the teaching of the Avesta, and observes that not the Amshaspands but Mithra and Anahita first appeared as sharers of Auramazda's throne and made an impression on the Græco-Roman

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very doubtful about the meaning and etymology of the great god Asshur, he suggests that it may have been simply Asura adapted. Hommel's discovery would encourage the possibility, one would think; but the Semitists must be left to deal with the suggestion. If accepted, we have fresh arguments for a cultus of this Aryan deity long before Zarathushtra.

[1] *Textes et Monuments*, p. 4.

world. All this we shall have to meet later on, but it may be said at once that geographical separation will account for it quite as well as a theory that makes the Amshaspands late. This, however, is Darmesteter's position, not Cumont's, for the latter is at pains to show (see below, p. 104 f., 430 f.) that all six of them supplied names for the Cappadocian Calendar some centuries B.C. If, apart from this exception and the evidence of the Later Avesta, the Amshaspands are invisible until the first century, it is only because the Reform was slow in making its way among the people of Western Iran, if indeed it ever did so, until the Sassanian era: it seems to have remained in the West the religion of the more intellectual classes—which is extremely natural. And when we find Cumont feeling strongly the difficulty of postulating early date for poems so recondite and abstract as the Gathas, is it not enough to reply that a great religious genius is always far beyond his age?[1]

With the Avesta we must class the mass of the later Pahlavi literature, of which *The Sacred Books of the East* contains a very important selection. Since these all fall in a late period, a millennium or more after the date we have fixed for our limit, they can of course only be used incidentally. That they can be used at all is due to the evident fact that they contain a large though indeterminate amount of Avestan matter otherwise lost—some of it decidedly early, as we saw above, p. 26 f. The extreme difficulty of determining the date of the late prose contained in the Avesta itself, which includes the bulk of the Vendidad, is of course even exceeded by the problem that meets us when we try to speculate on the antiquity of Avestan fragments contained in Pahlavi books, or in passages written in Pahlavi which claim to be paraphrased from lost Avestan matter. The grammatical chaos which prevails so often in prose parts of the Avesta, or in what appear to be interpolations of prose inserted in the older verse, demonstrates that the later Avestan dialect was dead when these belated efforts at composition were made. They may therefore very well be due to the Sassanian editors themselves, to whom in any case we owe the collection and preservation of our Avesta. But unless on any point we happen to have datable Greek witness, we are left to conjecture when we try to determine the antiquity of elements for which Pahlavi writers are our only Iranian authority.

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[1] To these notes on Prof. Cumont's position I might append one on a point made by him in a Congress paper reported in *RHR* xxxvi. 261. He calls the Avesta the work of a closed reforming caste not anterior to the Sassanides—which for its present form we admit. He goes on to say that the texts do not allow us to decide whether there was a rudimentary Avesta in Achæmenian and Arsacide ages. Basil and Eznik say the Magi had no books, while Pausanias attributes some to them. Are we to regard Basil and Eznik as better witnesses than Hermippus? (The remark of Dr S. Reinach in the discussion, that the frequent comparison of Magi and Druids proves the former to have had no book, strikes me as curiously inconclusive.) After all, if Magi in certain districts did not use a sacred book, it agrees with all we expect to find from other indications: elsewhere we know they had such. Prof. Cumont indicated that a reconciliation of the data was possible.

The old Persian Inscriptions, and especially those on the great Behistan Rock, are a tempting subject for digression, but I must keep to relevant matter, which in this case goes very little beyond bare mention. The interpretation of the inscriptional data affecting religion will come before us in the second Lecture. The far-reaching consequences of the colossal achievement by which the men of the early nineteenth century read the secret of Darius are apparent to all students of cuneiform-written languages to-day. The task of decipherment seems to be finally accomplished now; and the would-be gleaner at Behistan, equipped as he must be with the faculties of the Alpine climber as well as of the scholar, has little prospect of new discoveries. There is something specially fascinating about the one piece of modern writing which Prof. Williams Jackson discovered on the face of the Rock below the records of Darius. The habit of courting immortality by cutting names on rock or building or tree is attested in papyrus letters from ancient Egypt and in too frequent irritations of modern experience. But for one indulgence of this kind the sternest censor will feel nothing but sympathy. "With an iron pen graven in the rock for ever," may be read below the cuneiform

H. C. RAWLINSON, 1844;

and those who can best appreciate one of the most splendid triumphs of the brain of man will be readiest to allow that name its right to stand there.

Upon the rest of our Iranian sources we need not dwell, for they will come up when wanted for special purposes. The newly discovered treasures of Turfan lie far outside our period, but that they are eminently relevant will be speedily realised by anyone who reads the supplement, one quarter the size of the original book, which Bartholomae has added to his Dictionary. Much later still is Firdausi's Shah Nameh, but we shall find frequently that its stores of ancient Iranian saga and folklore will help us in our study of the origins of Zoroastrianism.

Finally we come to the Greek and Latin writers, who afford us evidence of the utmost importance because of the precision with which we can generally date their information. Before Anquetil Duperron brought the Avesta to Europe, the classical sources were naturally almost the only evidence upon which historians of Persian religion could rely. Thomas Hyde's great book, which indirectly stimulated Anquetil's fine ambition, was published more than two centuries ago, but remains a valuable tool to-day because of its treatment of material accessible before Avesta or Inscriptions were known. A few of the most important *loci classici* will be found translated and annotated below.[1] The limitations of these foreign testimonies were easily allowed for, and I think experience gives the inquirer a higher sense of their value. This is especially the case with our oldest witness, Herodotus, to whom alone I need refer in this context. I leave to historians very cheerfully the duty of estimating the general reliability of the "Father of History"; but I must bear my testimony to his character as a source for the delineation of the popular religion of Persia in the fifth century. Thirty years ago Prof. Sayce brought out an edition of the first three books which in many ways seemed intended to be an up-to-date reissue of the ancient tract *De Malignitate Herodoti.* I am not qualified to express an opinion as to the bulk of the Professor's strictures, which range over a large proportion of the field appropriated by one of the most encylopædic Orientalists of our time. But in the corner of that field in which I have tried to work I have found that a generation of research has antiquated not the ancient historian but his modern annotator. Some of the grounds of this opinion will, I hope, make themselves apparent in the later pages of this volume.[1]

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[1] Herodotus, i. 131–140 (p. 391 ff.); Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris,* 46 f. (p. 399 ff.); Strabo, xv. 3, 13 ff. (p. 407 ff.); Diogenes Laertius, *Procœm. ad init.* (p. 410 ff.).

Our survey needs only to be completed by a bare reference to epigraphic sources to which reference will occasionally be made. A rescript of Darius comes to us in Greek, and a long inscription from King Antiochus of Commagene (first century B.C.).[2] Coins of the Indo-Scythian kings, in Greek letters, afford some important indirect evidence that we shall have to weigh. And there are the monuments of Mithraism, scattered all over Europe, which will be borne in mind during sundry parts of our inquiry, although we shall shortly realise that their direct connexion with the subject is but small. I have by no means exhausted the list of sources which we shall have to study, but I have said enough to prepare for the investigations that will follow.

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[1] I need hardly say that I do not suggest the indiscriminate acceptance of Persian material in Herodotus. He could make Darius, for instance, talk Greek in more senses than one (*e.g.* iii. 72). But the line is generally easy to draw.

[2] The text of the "Gadatas" inscription of Darius may be seen with Dittenberger's notes in his *Sylloge Inscriptionum Græcarum*, 1–4 (No. 2). Those on the monument of Antiochus of Commagene are in the same great epigraphist's *Orientis Græci Inscriptiones Selectæ*, 591 ff. (Nos. 383–401). The religious importance of the Antiochus inscriptions is discussed below, p. 106 f.

LECTURE II

BEFORE ZARATHUSHTRA

> The Persian—zealous to reject
> Altar and image, and the inclusive walls
> And roofs of temples built by human hands—
> To loftiest heights ascending, from their tops,
> With myrtle-wreathed tiara on his brow,
> Presented sacrifice to moon and stars,
> And to the winds and mother elements,
> And the whole circle of the heavens, for him
> A sensitive existence, and a God,
> With lifted hands invoked, and songs of praise.
>
> Wordsworth, *The Excursion*, book iv.

We are not ready yet to study the personality and the work of the thinker and prophet whose name gives us our subject. It is never possible to understand a religious reform without first understanding that which was reformed. So I must prepare the way further for Zarathushtra by investigating the beliefs and practices of the people to whom he came. It involves anticipating some subjects the proper place for which will come later on, but I must repeat my assumption that the foundations and framework of the Zoroastrian system are known. I am not, as I said before, attempting a complete exposition of Zoroastrianism as it stands, but inquiring into its origin, growth, and essential character; and for this purpose the order I am adopting seems least open to practical disadvantage.

There are, as I read the history, two main strands in the rope, apart from that which Zarathushtra himself supplies. One of these will form the subject of inquiry when we have examined the history and teaching of the Prophet himself; for it seems fairly certain that it was outside his own knowledge, though in existence before his time. The work of the Magi, as we shall see, was to build on Zarathushtra's foundation a superstructure which (to put it very moderately) was not in all respects after Zarathushtra's style. The question before us now is the religious position of the people to whom he came. What were the beliefs which he inherited, which he had to accept, to adapt, or to reject? Our evidence for this inquiry will be of very varied character. We examine by the comparative method the prehistoric conditions of the Aryan-speaking tribes before their division into Indian and Iranian as indicated in Lecture I. We pursue our researches into the period of the Achæmenian kings in Persia, and from their monuments and the works of the Greek historians, especially Herodotus, we try to picture the religion of the court and of the people.

The first question which should be settled is that concerning the religion of the early Achæmenian kings. The debate on this famous problem is perhaps not likely to be closed with any decisiveness, the data being curiously ambiguous. I cannot present the material here, but it is really unnecessary, as it has been done so well by experts who (for once) do not require us to go outside English. Indeed, there is a penny pamphlet by Bishop Casartelli which supplies all the quotations that are really germane to the subject, with the comments of a scholar who carries the utmost weight.[1] Of a more technical character is the very full discussion by Prof. Williams Jackson and Dr L. H. Gray.[2] Dr Gray gives us a careful summary in his excellent article on the Achæmenians.[3] With researches of outstanding importance available for every reader, I may content myself with merely stating my own view and offering a few comments.

We begin with Cyrus. His position might seem to be removed from the range of discussion by the summary dictum of Prof. Eduard Meyer that "it cannot be doubted by any unprejudiced mind that Cyrus was a Zoroastrian."[4] It will be seen from his words quoted below that this is mainly an inference from the Zoroastrianism of Darius, which Meyer asserts is patent from every word of his Inscription. The specialists are by no means so clear about Darius, and in the case of Cyrus it is hardly too much to say that the "prejudice" which Meyer's dictum implies in any who question it seems to have afflicted them with distressing uniformity. Dr L. H. Gray remarks that "there is no evidence whatever to show that he was a Zoroastrian." Dr Casartelli records the doubt whether Cyrus was an "Auramazdean" like Darius, since—

> The Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions of that famous conqueror portray him rather as a polytheist, inasmuch as he proclaims himself to the Babylonians the servant and

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[1] *The Religion of the Great Kings* (Catholic Truth Society).

[2] *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, xxi. (1901), p. 164-184.

[3] *ERE*, i. 69-72 (1908).

[4] *Enc. Brit.*, xxi. 205 : cf. *Gesch. d. Alt.*, iii. 21 (". . . wird, wer die Sachlage besonnen überlegt, nicht bezweifeln; sonst müsste die Religion bei Darius als Neuerung auftreten").

> the worshipper of the Assyrio-Babylonian gods. . . . This—it may at least be supposed—was done in order to please his new subjects, and to gain the favour of the powerful sacerdotal body.

That Meyer's *ipse dixit* in itself would be accepted more readily than almost anyone's is undeniable, and in questioning it here I am rather denying than yielding to a "prejudice." We have nothing whatever from Cyrus's own hand which could possibly bear on the question, except the "Cylinder Inscription" with its profession of loyalty to Marduk, and the rescript in Ezra ($1^{2,3}$) where he declares that Yahweh is God. I do not draw the conclusion that Cyrus was a polytheist, for Darius, the fervent worshipper of Mazdah, makes the like concessions to his foreign subjects; but they will hardly be claimed as evidence that he really adored only the deity who is *not* mentioned! Of course, in the absence of Old Persian inscriptions from him,[1] the silence about Mazdah is intelligible enough. But it will not do for us to compensate for the silence by a mere "doubtless," which is all too often the cloak for a total absence of evidence. We have in fact only two sources of information to eke out Meyer's not very conclusive argument about the improbability that Darius was an innovator. We turn naturally to the Cylinder for what it may give us, which certainly is very little indeed.[2] The one conspicuous point we observe is the relation in which the great king stands to Marduk of Babylon. The theory of local divinities could not be more emphatically stated. Marduk is angry because Nabonidus, anxious to make Marduk supreme, had removed the shrines and images of the local deities to Babylon, which was his own locality. They in turn are angry at being removed away from their own place. So Cyrus, restoring all to their homes, and establishing Marduk as lord in Babylon, supreme because Babylon itself had such primacy, enjoys the favour of all the gods alike.

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[1] The Murghab inscription ("I am Cyrus the King, the Achæmenian") will not help us—even if it were quite certain that it does not belong to Cyrus the Younger, who might be *χšāyaθiya* in the same sense as Darius's ancestors had the title.

[2] C. J. Ball, *Light from the East,* p. 224 f., translates the inscription. A microscopic criticism might note that Cyrus is

Dr Gray seeks for material in the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon, and very acutely points out[1] that its subtle coincidences with our Iranian evidence make its testimony much less negligible than it is usually supposed to be. I think he makes a strong case, but that he has omitted to show how Xenophon bridged the gulf of a century and a half between Cyrus and his own Persian travels. When, on the strength of Xenophon's evidence, which Dr Gray thinks the most reliable we have, the religion of Cyrus is inferred to be nearest to that set forth in the Later Avesta, we note the proof as striking and helpful, but for the religion of Artaxerxes Mnemon rather than that of Cyrus. If we regard Cyrus as probably a Mazdean —not a Zoroastrian, however—it will be because Ahura Mazdah was "god of the Aryans" (p. 32), and Cyrus belonged to an eminently Aryan clan. If it

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again and again "King of the Four Regions" (N., S., E., W.), which is an obvious contrast to the Seven Karšvars of the Later Avestan. But of course Cyrus (or his Babylonian secretary) uses the idioms as well as the language of Babylon.

[1] *ERE,* i. 70.

was possible to be a Mazdean without ever having heard of Zarathushtra, we have nothing left as proof, and next to nothing amounting to a presumption, that Cyrus had come in contact with the Reform. His creed was more probably the popular Iranian nature-worship described so accurately by Herodotus in the *locus classicus* we shall be taking up presently. In many particulars its elemental worship would agree sufficiently with Babylonian and Elamite; and "the God of heaven" in the Ezra rescript suits his own religious phraseology perfectly, especially if his chief god was *Diyauš*, the sky.[1] Since he and his ancestors ruled in a country which was not Iranian, we naturally expect to find non-Aryan traits in any account of him and his ideas.

One solitary scrap of evidence in favour of Cyrus's connexion with Zoroastrianism I am bound to present before I leave him, and I believe the point—*valeat quantum!*—is new. He called his daughter Atossa, which is identified with the Avestan *Hutaosâ*. This was the name of Vishtaspa's queen; and of course the name of Vishtaspa himself, Zarathushtra's royal patron, was perpetuated in the Achæmenian family, in Hystaspes the father of Darius. I do not think the double coincidence can be accidental. How much does it prove? We will return to this when we come to Darius, from whom we are detained for a moment by the intervention of Cambyses. It seems almost grotesque to discuss the religion of one whom only the accident of birth and time rescued from segregation as a criminal lunatic. But maniac though he was, we should expect him to be restrained by superstition; and it is therefore significant that he had no fear of the wrath of the sacred element when he burnt the corpse of Amasis.[1] This fact may be put with similar notes from the life of Xerxes, and with the well-known argument from the burial of the Achæmenian kings, to show that the Magi had not yet come upon the scene: for all this see p. 215 f. The other fact about Cambyses' religion is the Egyptian text, quoted by Dr Gray, which shows him worshipping the goddess Neit at Sais, as Darius did after him. He acted presumably from a very real fear of the possible consequences of offending the local gods in foreign countries, where *omne ignotum pro magnifico* probably counted more heavily than the politic motives which preponderated with statesmen like Cyrus and Darius.

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[1] On this see below, pp. 60 f., 391 f.

Before we pass on to consider the religion of Darius, a man for whom religion was obviously a very real experience, we may look into some questions concerning the Achæmenians in general. I quoted just now what seems to be Prof. E. Meyer's one reason for regarding Cyrus as a Zoroastrian—his unwillingness to make Darius an innovator. It is important, therefore, to notice considerations leading us to postulate a rather marked difference between the two branches of the *Haχāmanišiya* clan. Cyrus was king in Elam, while Darius expressly claims that his ancestors were "royal" from Achæmenes down, and possessed "this kingdom which Gaumāta the Magian took from Cambyses . . . both Persia and Media and the other provinces" (*Bh* i. 12). Media at any rate was not ruled by Achæmenians before Cyrus; but Persia may well have been. Cyrus reigned over a people among whom Aryans were at best a small minority,[1] but his own Aryan descent[2] is emphatically endorsed by the statement of Darius that he was "of our family" (*Bh* i. 10), that is, the Achæmenian. According to the Assyrian inscription of Cyrus, he was son of "King Cambyses of the city Ansan," who was son of Cyrus, son of Teispes, both also Kings of Ansan. This makes Hystaspes, Darius's father, third cousin to Cyrus, Teispes (*Caišpiš*) being a common ancestor. If we are to take Darius literally, we can make him "ninth" in royalty by counting the royal line of Ansan from Achæmenes to Cyrus, fifth in succession, and then adding the (younger?) branch Ariaramnes, Arsames, Hystaspes, Darius. The difficulty is that neither Hystaspes nor his father and grandfather are ever called kings. If they exercised any kind of royalty, it must have been in some other province, such as Parthia, where Hystaspes wins a victory for Darius in *Bh* ii. 16. It may be noticed that Darius does not say his ancestors were "Great Kings" like himself, or the ancestors of Cyrus in the latter's inscription above referred to (quoted from Spiegel, *op. cit.* 84). A more local sovranty will satisfy his words.

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[1] Herodotus, iii. 16.

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[1] Compare E. Meyer's statement (*Enc. Brit.*^{11}, xxi. 203) that the kings of the Mitanni on the Euphrates bore Iranian names, but ruled over people speaking non-Iranian language. Meyer, by the way, makes the Medes Iranian: they reached W. Iran before 900 B.C.

[2] The names Kūruš and Kambūjiya are of disputed etymology, but there is no reason whatever to doubt their being Aryan. I do not think there has been any suggestion more attractive than that made long ago by Spiegel (*Altpers. Keilinsch.*^{2}, 96) that they attach themselves to Skt *Kuru* and *Kamboja*, originally Aryan heroes of fable, whose names were naturally revived in a royal house. Spiegel thinks that the myths about Cyrus may have originated in confusion between the historical and the mythical heroes. (*Kamboja* is a geographical name, and so is Kuru often: hence their appearance in Iranian similarly to-day as Kur and Kamoj.)

Suppose, then, that Darius's branch of the family were chieftains in Parthia, where Hystaspes is found after his son had won the supreme throne. We remember, of course, that Herodotus tells us that he was *ὕπαρχος* in Persia. If we had to choose between Herodotus and the Behistan record, the Greek historian must naturally yield. But there is no real difficulty, for when Darius was once on the throne his satraps could be moved very easily, and he would naturally wish to have his father nearer to his own court. But when it was a matter of quelling a serious rebellion, probably among the subject population, there would be obvious advantages in sending Hystaspes to a country over which he and his ancestors had ruled. On this conjecture, then, Parthia becomes an earlier settlement of the conquering Aryan invaders, from which a prince of the Achæmenian house, Cyrus's ancestor, went on to conquer Elam.

Now Parthia is exactly the district in which we should expect to find the earliest traces of Zoroastrianism proper. Lying east of "Zoroastrian Ragha," on the way towards Bactria, it suits equally well both the possible theories of Zarathushtra's sphere of teaching. He or his successors must have preached to the Parthians as soon as the Religion began to extend beyond its original home, whichever of the two centres may claim it. And this brings us to the remarkable coincidence noted above, in the recurrence of the names of Vishtaspa and his queen Hutaosa in the father of Darius and the daughter of Cyrus. Antiquity even tended to confuse the two royal Vishtaspas, which may be taken as a slight indication that the name was not common. The repetition of this very significant name in the family of a monarch whose Zoroastrian faith is attested by many lines of evidence, as we shall show, is by itself suggestive. But of course, if Vishtaspa's name is significant for Darius's branch of the Achæmenians, Hutaosa's must be equally significant for that of Cyrus. The names must at least prove, I think, that the memory of the great king was kept alive in both branches of the family; nor is it unlikely that it was cherished on religious as well as on secular grounds. But when we remember how quickly after Zarathushtra's time all but the most superficial features of his teaching were practically lost, and only rediscovered in an esoteric circle by the preservation of the Gathas in worship—a subject which will come before us in Lecture III.—we realise that to prove Cyrus a Zoroastrian in any effective sense demands evidence that his ancestors had maintained the traditional lore in a country where the religion of the people was wholly alien in spirit, and in the face of a powerful tendency, observable in all the metrical Later Avesta itself, to fall back upon the old Iranian nature-worship. As a great champion of Mazdah-worship Vishtaspa might well be commemorated in Cyrus's family; but there is complete absence of proof that for Cyrus his name signified more than this, which we have seen to be on other grounds very probable.

This brings us to ask what tests we should apply to determine the presence of elements due to Zarathushtra's Reform. We saw in the last Lecture that the worship of Ahura Mazdah must be abandoned for this purpose, however reluctantly, since there is conclusive reason to believe that he was adored in a tribe which could contribute to the Assyrian pantheon centuries before the earliest possible epoch for Zarathushtra's mission. The sacrifice of this test is a most serious complication in our problem, and may even preclude the possibility of any really decisive solution. But in the case of Darius we have really strong evidence to support the conclusion of Prof. Geldner that "Darius and his successors were without doubt devoted adherents of Zoroastrianism."[1] Meyer's difficulty as to a religious innovation is met by E. W. West's proof that Darius probably reformed the Calendar in a Zoroastrian direction; see *SBE*, xlvii. pp. xliii–xlvii. That Darius was a fervent worshipper of Auramazda may not prove Zarathushtra's influence, but it is of course consistent with it. But what of his failure to mention Zarathushtra himself, Angra Mainyu, and the Amesha Spenta? The first omission is intelligible enough, if the Prophet was a figure of the distant past, but not yet elevated (by Magian theology) into a supernatural being. Taking the Gathas as generally representative of Darius's religion, we might fairly say that the omission is no stranger than that of Paul's name would be in a historical rescript by some pious medieval king, perpetually ascribing his triumphs to the grace of "God and Our Lady," but silent about the Apostles, to whose writings he would of course attribute the whole of his religious belief.[1] As to the absence of Angra Mainyu, the usual answer is probably sufficient, that the spirit of Zarathushtra's doctrine is adequately reproduced by the frequent mention of "the Lie" (*drauga*), which appears in the Avesta as *draoga*, and (in a different flexion) as *Druj*. Now, as we shall see later on, it is actually not true that Angra Mainyu was Zarathushtra's name for the Evil Spirit. The combination only occurs once in the Gathas (*Ys* 45^2, see pp. 135 f., 370), and it is there no more a proper name than is the corresponding English when Milton calls Satan "Enemy of God and man." The name for the Evil Spirit in the Gathas is nearly twenty times *Druj*, "the Lie." I point out (below, p. 136) that the Later Avestan transference of this casual appellation, which thus became a proper name, is really the work of the Magi, and very possibly depends upon an association of the two words "enemy" and "liar," which actually occurs in Darius's inscription. That being so, we can see that the king's language is most remarkably in accord with the

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[1] *Enc. Brit.*, *s.v.* "Zoroaster."

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[1] My parallel does not convince Dr Casartelli, who writes (May 4, 1913): "Don't you think the omission of Z.'s name in the Royal Inscription a much more extraordinary one than that of Paul (or Peter for the matter of that) in a medieval text? Would it not be nearer to the entire omission of the name of Buddha in Asoka's Inscriptions, or of Mohammed in Islamitic ones?" I must naturally lay some weight on my doctrine that in Darius's day the more abstruse features of Zarathushtra's teaching—such as his personal relation to his followers at the Last Day—had been dimmed by time. And the practical apotheosis of the Prophet, which seems necessary for Dr Casartelli's comparisons, was on my theory entirely the work of the Magi, and later than Darius. Nor is Zarathushtra's absence more remarkable than it is in the Haptanghaiti, if we take the one occurrence as a later addition.

Gathas, since every form of evil reduces itself to this one term. Every rebel chief "lies," not merely when like Gaumata he personates a member of the royal house, but when he simply leads the native population in an effort to shake off the Achæmenian yoke. The objection accordingly turns to a positive argument in favour of Darius's acceptance of Zarathushtra's theology.

The one really serious omission having thus explained itself, we need not trouble very much over the absence of the Amshaspands from Darius's great Inscription. We shall be seeing later on (p. 431 f.) that the Parsi Calendar is traced on strong evidence to Darius, and that the present names of the months therein bear very strong marks of his hand. If this is true, these most characteristic of Zarathushtra's concepts were exceedingly familiar to Darius, and their absence from State documents needs no elaborate explanation. But indeed there are not wanting fairly close parallels to ideas included within this innermost circle of Zarathushtra's thought. Thus the recurrent *vašnā Auramazdāha* (forty-one times in Darius's inscriptions), "by *grace* or *will* of Auramazda," differs little from Vohu Manah in such passages as *Ys* 33^{10}, *vohū uχšyā manaŋhā . . . tanūm*, "bless my body by the Good Mind." When Darius says (*Bh* i. 5) *Auramazda χšaθ*^{r}*am manā frābara*, "Auramazda gave me the kingdom," he means a kingdom of this world; but the two worlds were in the Persian mind so closely parallel that the *χšaθ*^{r}*a* of Auramazda would be a necessary corollary to that of his earthly vicegerent. Then we might say that *šiyātiš*, "welfare," which in the recurrent formula Auramazda "made for man," is not far away from Haurvatat, the Amesha. That the conception of Truth was supreme in Persian ethics needs no proof; and Asha included this as its primary element, as Plutarch's rendering Ἀλήθεια illustrates, and the fact that Asha is the ἀντίτεχνος of the Druj. So if the Amesha were not formally present, the ideas which lay behind them as divine attributes were not far away. We may add the recently restored *arštām* in *Bh.* iv. 13, conjectured by Foy and then read by Jackson on the Rock: this is an abstract word (for *arštatām*), "uprightness," almost exactly identical with the Avestan *yazata*, closely akin to the Amesha in character, *Arštāt* (= *aršta-tāt*), to which it answers like *iuventa* to *iuventas* in Latin. Less significant, but not quite negligible, is the occurrence in the Inscription of one Avestan fiend, that of Drought (*Dušiyārā*, Av. *Dužyāiryā*, *qs.* *δυσωρία). Dr Gray notes also the mention of the other great affliction of the agriculturist, the nomad "horde" (O.P. *hainā*, Av. *haēnā*), associated with Drought in both texts.

The negative argument for Darius's Zoroastrian position may be noted before we begin to face the arguments *con.* Darius is of course no monotheist in the strict sense of the word—any more than the pre-prophetic Israelites, who regarded Yahweh as supreme, but believed the gods of the nations to be regnant powers in their own lands. Darius acknowledges occasionally the help of Auramazda "and the other gods that exist" (*utā aniyā bagāha tyaiy hantiy*),[1] or *A. M. hadā viθaibiš* or *viθibiš bagaibiš*,[2] "with all the gods" or "with the clan gods": which of the two readings must be taken we cannot determine finally. The meaning of *baga* comes out well in the Persepolis inscription of Artaxerxes III. (*Ochus*), where we find *mām Auramazdā utā M*^{i}*θra baga pātuv*, "may A. M. and the *baga* Mithra protect me." Now Auramazda is *maθišta bagānām*,[1] "greatest of *bagas*," and in the oft-repeated creed of Darius and his successors[2] he is expressly *baga vazarka*, just as Darius himself is *χšāyaθiya vazarka*. But it looks as if even in the days of Artaxerxes III. the godhead of Auramazda was so high above that of the "other gods" that he and Mithra would never be called *bagāha* conjointly, any more than the "Great King" would have shared the title *χšāyaθiya* with the inferior kings who are implied in the title *χšāyaθiya χšāyaθiyānām*. We have therefore a subordination of other divinities as emphatic as in the Gathas themselves; and the θεὸς θεῶν is the same as in Zarathushtra's preaching. So near an approach to monotheism we can hardly trace to coincidence; and, in spite of many difficulties, it seems best to regard Zarathushtra as the ultimate author of the creed which so obviously comes from Darius's heart of hearts on the columns of triumphant exultation at Behistan.

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[1] *Bh* 4^{12} *al.*

[2] *Dar. Pers.* d^3.

So we may turn to the difficulties. These are forcibly put by Dr Gray, in his summary of the evidence from non-Iranian texts (*op. cit.* p. 180, and the more recent article in *ERE*, i. 69–73). Darius speaks (*Bh* i. 14) of the "places of worship" (*āyadanā*) which he restored after Gaumata the Magian had destroyed them. Here the Babylonian and the New Susian versions alike render "houses of the gods." Dr Gray is "inclined to consider *āyadanā* as including not only the fire-altars of the ancient Persians, but the fanes of nations subject to the sway of Darius." This tolerance, he says, was not "in harmony with Zoroastrian teaching": it was a "politic course," "like that of Cyrus when he not only sent back the captive gods from Kutu, but also built them their temples anew (*Cylinder Inscr.* 32), or when he restored the Temple at Jerusalem." (It may be noted in passing that Prof. Hommel[1] takes a very different view of this action of the Magus. According to him, Gaumata, being a Magian, and therefore a Mede, shared the Persian horror of temples and destroyed them as an act of fanaticism: Darius restored them out of respect for the popular beliefs. Hommel thinks Darius was the first to introduce Avestan religion into the Persian kingdom, with certain concessions to popular feeling. Why I entirely dissociate the Magi from the Aryan population I have explained in Lecture VI.) Similarly—to return to Dr Gray—"Cambyses repaired the desecrated temple of Neit at Sais, and with a spirit quite as alien to that of the Zoroastrian reform." Dr Gray quotes next—after an argument in favour of "all the gods" rather than "clan gods" (see above), on evidence drawn from the versions—the well-known Gadatas inscription of Darius.[2] In this rescript, preserved for us in an Ionic Greek form on a stone some five centuries after Darius, the king sharply chides a satrap for violating the sanctity of a precinct of Apollo, *ἀγνοῶν ἐμῶν προγόνων εἰς τὸν θεὸν [ν]οῦν, ὃς Πέρσαις εἶπε [πᾶσ]α[ν] ἀτρέκε[ι]α[ν].* Dittenberger, whose supplements are printed here, understands the "ancestors" to be his predecessors Cyrus and Cambyses. Darius tells Gadatas[1] that he was misrepresenting him to Apollo's worshippers—*τὴν ὑπὲρ θεῶν μου διάθεσιν ἀφανίζεις.* Here Dr Gray finds an almost "polytheistic" tone. But in an inscription found between Tralles and Magnesia, concerning (surely ?) a Greek god whose oracles, like those of Delphi, had been valued by Persian kings, we must expect to meet with language adapted to Greek conditions. Finally, Dr Gray quotes an Egyptian inscription in which Darius calls himself son of the goddess Neit, to whose special favour he owes his victory.

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[1] Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 292 f.) points out the parallel *mazištō vazatanąm* in *Yt* 17^{16}.

[2] See p. 122 below.

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[1] *Geographie* (in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch d. klass. Altertumswissenschaft*), p. 201.

[2] See p. 37: he cites ll.$^{17-28}$.

These quotations, we may readily concede, show that Darius was no fanatic. His religious position was remarkably like that of King David, whose passionate devotion to Yahweh proved perfectly consistent with a conviction that leaving Yahweh's land involved entering the service of "other gods" (1 Sam. 26^{19}); or, again, that of Elisha, who seems to have acquiesced in Naaman's belief that he could only raise an altar to Yahweh on soil brought from Palestine. In foreign lands, therefore, the king must propitiate the gods of the soil, just as the Assyrians provided for the return of a native priest to teach "the manner of the god of the land" to their colonists whom they had planted in Samaria (2 Kings 17^{26} ff.). According to ancient ideas there was quite as much real belief as there was "political shrewdness" in the action of Darius, Cyrus, and Cambyses towards foreign deities. Even Jews were practising a much more remarkable tolerance, as the new Aramaic papyri from Elephantine have shown us lately. Moreover, in any case we have no reason to credit Darius with the whole creed of the Gathas. He was probably further removed from Zarathushtra's day than was the Gatha Haptanghaiti; but he is a better Zoroastrian than the authors of those prayers, on any showing, and less of a polytheist.

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[1] Who was surely not a "Greek," as Dr Gray calls him.

One point of interest made by Dr Gray seems to tell distinctly against his general thesis. He tells us that whereas the Old Persian inscriptions, like the Avesta,[1] have the word "Lie" only in the singular, and in this are supported by the New Susian version, the Babylonian version "uses the plural of the corresponding *parṣu* 'Lie' in the two passages in which the word occurs," especially *Bh* i. 10, "the Lie became rife in the land." He infers very naturally that "the usage would seem to bespeak personification among the Persians, but not among the Babylonians"—who were thus, in fact, no Zoroastrians like the former.

To the objections raised by Dr Gray—with decidedly less emphasis, if I understand him rightly, in his newest article (in *ERE*, i.)—may be added one from Bishop Casartelli's pamphlet. Dr Casartelli presses the argument from the silence of Behistan as to Zarathushtra himself and Angra Mainyu, and declares himself unsatisfied with any of the "several ingenious solutions" which have been proposed for the problem of the differences between Behistan and the Avesta. The resemblances which I have tried to bring out seem to me so striking that I feel bound to add to the tale of attempted solutions, and cherish the fond hope that my learned friend may find it a less "rash theory" than its predecessors. He has a further difficulty in the silence of the Avesta about the Achæmenian kings, and the substitution of other great dynasties, Peshdadian and Kayanian, which are unknown to history. Can we meet this by urging (1) that the Avestan country is far away from those which enter the range of external history, and (2) that if (for instance) Achæmenian kings were praised in the Farvardin Yasht, there was no guarantee that the philhellene Arsacides would encourage the survival of those sections? The harmless prehistoric monarchs had the best chance of this immortality.

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[1] [*Yt*] 24^{29} is noted as no real exception, being late.

After much hesitation, therefore, and I frankly confess not a few pendulum swings from one side to the other, I give my vote Aye when the question is put whether Zarathushtra comes into Darius's spiritual ancestry. I have given away, in deference to Hommel's inscription, the one evidence that would be absolutely decisive—Zarathushtra's authorship of the cult title *Mazdāh.* But though the other arguments could be countered severally with good replies, I think the balance turns in favour of the affirmative, and I accept it with the modifications already given.

Finally, we have to ask what were the religious beliefs of Xerxes. The inquiry may be suspended here, since we have nothing whatever to discuss in the history of Artaxerxes Longimanus or Darius II., except the popular religion as observed by Herodotus in his travels during this period. Xerxes is almost as grievous a stumbling-block to defenders of the hereditary principle in absolute monarchy as Cambyses himself, and he lacks the excuse of insanity. Religion meant much less to him than to his great father, and we should naturally expect to find in his ideas an eclipse of the ethical theology of the Gathas and Darius, and a recrudescence of the popular Aryan superstitions. Herodotus (vii. 114) has a very instructive story, which (*pace* Dr Gray) I find entirely credible. Coming to a place called Nine Ways, the Magi buried alive nine boys and girls of the place. (The Magi at least are the subject of the preceding sentence, and it seems most natural to understand Herodotus to implicate them here—of course wrongly —as the agents of the king's superstition.) The historian goes on to observe—

> "To bury alive is a Persian custom, for I learn that Amestris, the wife of Xerxes, when she grew old, buried fourteen children of distinguished Persians, endeavouring to propitiate on her own account the god who is said to dwell beneath the earth."[1]

There are many other evidences that the Magi had not yet begun to push their propaganda against burial, and the idea that the Earth-spirit would be offended never entered, it is plain, minds wholly impervious to more important considerations. There are two or three instructive (and very horrible) pages in Prof. Jackson's *Persia Past and Present* (pp. 271–3), dealing with the barbarous punishments still inflicted in Persia. One of these, the plastering up of the victim in gypsum, with face exposed, and leaving him to die as a pillar by the roadside, is in principle not unlike what Herodotus describes as Περσικόν long ago. And, as Prof. Jackson's informant observed in reporting another horror, *Irân hamîn ast*, "Persia is always the same"! Perhaps the well-known humanity of Russian manners will effect the needed change in the unwilling pupil!

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[1] The significance of this extremely interesting appellation will be considered in Lecture IV. (p. 128 f.).

Two other hints are extracted by Dr Gray from the seventh book of Herodotus. Xerxes on arriving at the Hellespont sacrificed 1000 cows (βοῦς χιλίας), τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Ἰλιάδι, while the Magi poured libations to the heroes: it is added that a panic fell on the host because these things had been done at night.[1] Dr Gray restricts his citation to the point about the "1000 oxen [*sic*]," and the correspondence with *Yt* 5^{21} (etc.), where the sacrifice to Anahita is 100 male horses, 1000 oxen (or cows), and 10,000 sheep. The suggestion that this is an early notice of the Anahita cult is very interesting, but the concomitants are unexplained, and we cannot be sure that the notice, like the regular appearance of the Magi, is not an anachronism transferred from a later time. Still, there is no serious difficulty in believing that the cult had already begun to make its way.[2] It is further stated that Xerxes poured a libation into the sea and prayed to the rising sun (vii. 54). I see no necessity to bring in Mithra here, as Dr Gray does: the Sun was a *yazata* on his own account from of old. The libation probably agrees only by accident with Magian doctrine (p. 216 below). It was hardly Persian, for Aryan worship only concerned the waters that nurtured plant life. But the sea had given Xerxes trouble before, and propitiation would be politic now, even if it belonged to the Daevas. Dr Gray finally cites vii. 40, where the chariot of Xerxes follows "the sacred chariot of Zeus," drawn by eight white horses, whose driver went on foot, "for no man ascends this throne." I am myself inclined to recognise here, not Mazdah, to whom the symbolism is not specially appropriate, but the popular Sky-god to whom we shall be turning our attention presently. The general impression made by these notices is that if the religion of Darius suggests the Gathas of Zarathushtra, that of his son has its affinities in the "Seven-chapter Gatha" which marked the relapse into the old nature-worship. Everything we know of Xerxes makes us feel that it would suit him better.

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[1] This was a rather definite lapse into the *daēvayasna*: see the note below (p. 129) on nocturnal sacrificing of cattle as condemned in the Gathas. If the notice of Herodotus (vii. 43) is sound, we must suppose that the spirit of the Reform had in this respect penetrated the soldiery. But I should hardly care to trust the detail: it is enough to assume that Herodotus had heard of the existence of orthodox objections to sacrifices by night.

[2] See on this subject, p. 238 f.

Let us turn now to the popular religion of Persia, as described for us with convincing and detailed accuracy by Herodotus. The *locus classicus* is translated and annotated in the appendices, and I need only call attention to a few outstanding features. First let me call attention to its omissions. Without over-pressing the *argumentum ex silentio*, we can assert positively enough that Herodotus never met with the name of Angra Mainyu, nor heard of the Prophet Zarathushtra. I have been explaining away Darius's silence about the Prophet, and noting that the absence of Angra does not need to be explained. But it really passes all probability that a writer like

Herodotus should omit so interesting a figure as Zoroaster's if he ever heard of it. I think his silence must at least mean that his knowledge came from strata wholly untouched by Zarathushtra's teaching. So abstract and esoteric a doctrine was never likely to win popularity; and if it was really known to Darius, the extent to which it spread beyond the royal circle must have been limited to a very few of its easiest conceptions. It was the Magi who popularised it by refraction, as we shall see. Ahura Mazdah himself is described on the Susian version of the Behistan Inscription as "god of the Aryans," and this probably gives us the estimate of the people in general. The "Aryans" in this context may well be simply the nobles, who had taken up the new cult, while the mass of their kin of lower rank continued to worship the old elemental *daivās*, with the Sky-god at their head. It will be remembered that the *'Αριζαντοί* were only one of the six tribes of the Medes in *Hdt.* i. 101: there may have been other Aryans among these Median tribes, and the Persian *ariyazantava* would not be identical with the Median in their beliefs, if a new religion had made its way into Persia first.

In the description which the historian gives of the Persian religion the central feature is the worship of the *κύκλος οὐρανοῦ* upon mountain-tops. I have tried to prove in my note on the passage (p. 391–3) that "Zeus" here is not the Greek divine name transferred to the chief deity of another country—as we have Zeus Oromazdes in Commagene and Zeus Ammon in Egypt,—but the old South Indo-European deity of the Sky, the Indian *Dyauḥ*, whose name in Old Persian, especially in the accusative, genitive, and locative cases, would sound to a Greek very much like the name of his own Zeus. It is more than doubtful whether an elemental character can be assigned to Ahura Mazdah, even in the pre-Reformation age. It is true that Prof. Cumont claims for him in the Avesta itself "traces of his original character . . . as the god of the bright sky."[1] But against this we may set Dr Hans Reichelt's comment[2] on *Yt* 13^3: "Ahura Mazdah is the Varuṇa of Aryan times, the god of the night-heaven." And for this it may be pleaded that in the Later Avesta the old Aryan pair survives as *Miθra Ahura*,[3] a *dvandva* compound like the Vedic *Mitrā*(*u*) *Varuṇā*(*u*): unless, then, we assert independent origin, we must make Ahura = Varuṇa, as the *Asura* κατ' ἐξοχήν. So scholars have largely agreed to read it: Geldner's words may be cited as typical—

> In one *Asura*, whose Aryan original was Varuṇa, [Zarathushtra] concentrated the whole of the divine character, and conferred upon it the epithet of the "Wise."[4]

(But we cannot still hold the doctrine that the Reformer invented the name Mazdah.) If this is right, Ahura would necessarily be the night sky, if a Sky-god at all, for Mithra's prior claim on the light is certain. But really the evidence for Ahura's elemental character is exceedingly weak at best, unless we are prepared to assert the same whenever a deity is said to be robed with stars or clothed with light.

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[1] In Roscher, *Lex. Myth.*, iii. 105^2. I owe the reference to my friend Mr A. B. Cook.

[2] "The sky which Mazdah wears as a star-spangled robe" (*Avesta Reader*, 115: cf. 110). See p. 280 below.

[3] *Ys* 1^{11}, *Yt* $10^{113, 145}$.

[4] *Enc. Brit.*^{11}, *sub voce.*

It must be admitted, however, that the old Sky-god of the Aryans has left his traces in Iran abundantly enough, if only in deities who have stolen their thunder from its rightful lord. Here Mithra is emphatically the most conspicuous. I shall return immediately to his past, and deal with his ultimate future in Lecture IV.; but I must first note this connexion with the sky, which, however explained, is unmistakable in the Yashts and kindred texts. In this regard, since too many scholars have been in a hurry to antedate the ultimate identification of Mithra with the Sun, I should emphasise the fact, properly insisted on by Tiele,[1] that he belongs to the night as well as the day. Tiele notes that in the Yashts he is "unsleeping," as in the Rigveda, and has myriad eyes. Since, however,

> The Night has a thousand eyes,
> And the Day but one;
> Yet the light of the bright world dies
> With the dying Sun,

the divinity of the bright sky is very naturally linked more and more with the greater light.[2] How the transition was made from Light to Sun is explained by no less an authority than Prof. Cumont, whose proprietary rights in Mithraism everyone acknowledges. In his fascinating lectures on *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*,[1] he tells us that the "learned theology of the Chaldæans imposed itself on primitive Mazdeism," and that "Ahura Mazda was assimilated to Bel, Anâhita to Ishtar, and Mithra to Shamash the god of the Sun. That is why in the Roman Mysteries Mithra was commonly called *Sol invictus*, though he was really distinct from the Sun."

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[1] *Religionsgesch.*, 242 f.

[2] In proof of this important claim, Tiele refers to *Yt* 10^{95} ff., where after sunset Mithra goes forth with his club, touching both ends of the earth and surveying everything between earth and sky —this last a touch in keeping with his character as *μεσίτης*, lord of the middle region. Darmesteter (*SBE*, xxiii. 143) assumes that Mithra as the Sun has to retrace his steps during the night, quoting a Hindu belief that the Sun had a bright face and a dark one, turning the latter to the earth on its nightly journey back to the east. But this would not suit the idea of his watchful survey: the sky as illuminated by moon and stars gives us a preferable interpretation.

When, however, the most has been made of the elemental features of Mithra, we are brought back to the ethical side as distinctly more conspicuous in Parsism, recalling the same dual character in the Roman Jupiter as Dius Fidius.[2] Prof. A. Meillet has even put in an elaborate plea[3] for regarding the ethical as Mithra's original function in the Aryan period. Both the branches of Aryan possess a common noun, *mitrá-miθra-*, meaning in Sanskrit "friendship" (neut.) or "friend" (masc.), and in Avestan "compact." They even coincide in possessing a compound, Skt. *mitradruh*, "injuring a friend, treacherous," Av. *miθrō-druj*, "breaking a compact" (also "trying to deceive Mithra"). Meillet regards this word as the original, and the Aryan divine name as derived from it. There are, he says, no elemental traits in the one Vedic hymn (*Rv.* iii. 59) addressed to Mitra. The transference of this ethical deity to the elemental sphere is due to the natural thought that

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[1] *Les Religions Orientales dans le Paganisme Romain*,^{2} p. 217.

[2] On this compare Warde Fowler, *Religious Experience of the Roman People*, 130 and 142.

[3] *Journal Asiatique*, 1897, ii. 143 ff.

Light is the guardian of good faith: lying and treachery always love the darkness. The very ancient Roman deity Fides will be on the same plane; and as the Roman abstract deities have a strong claim to be regarded as *uralt*, we might urge this feature of that very conservative religion as a point in Meillet's favour, when joined with the similar mixing of ethical and elemental ideas in Dius Fidius. Dr Fowler's quotation from Varro ("quidam negant sub tecto hunc deiurare oportere") is very suggestive in this connexion. Prof. Meillet recognises that Mithra's twin, the Indian Varuṇa, must be treated on similar lines if his theory is to have a chance. Now, of course, Varuṇa has the most strongly ethical functions of all the gods in the Indian pantheon; and the difficulty of making him distinctively elemental is well illustrated by the differences of the pandits in finding his proper sphere. I wonder whether he would ever have been so generally assumed to be the Sky if it had not been for the supposed necessity of identifying his name with the Greek Οὐρανός! Meillet boldly proposes a connexion with Skt *vrata*, "ordinance," Av. *urvata*, *urvaiti*, "contract," *urvaθa*, "friend." The coincidence is very striking, and I am more than half convinced. My only hesitation concerns Meillet's insistence that the elemental deity is evolved out of the ethical one. Is it not just as probable that there has been a fusion of two originally independent conceptions, just as the two figures of Iuppiter and Fides met in Dius Fidius? I am encouraged in this suspicion by the silence of Prof. Brugmann, whose almost papal authority we all acknowledge in the sphere of comparative philology. He has a careful account of the origin of the common noun *mitrá-miθra-*,[1] but does not seem to deal anywhere with the name of the god, which, I infer, he regards as a distinct word. Now the two strains in the history of Mithra in Iran are remarkably distinct, and I am disposed to think that in attempting to unite them, whether on Meillet's lines or on those of the orthodox, we are sacrificing a valuable aid towards the solution of one of our most difficult problems. The possibility of foreign influence in the building up of what we call Mithraism is admitted for the later stages. Ought we to antedate it by several centuries, and suggest that as a god of the firmament, μεσίτης in a physical sense between heaven and earth, Mithra is essentially Semitic? I was almost inclined to withdraw or to pass by in silence what I feared was a too venturesome suggestion[2] that the remarkably similar Assyrian

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[1] *Grundriss*^{2}, II. i. 346. The etymological material, skilfully marshalled by Meillet, may be conveniently seen in Walde, *Lat. etym. Wörterbuch*^{2}, 488 f. Etymology at any rate makes it certain that the Aryan common noun is primitive in form and meaning. The root *mei* ("austauschen, verkehren"—Brugmann) is attested by Skt *máyate*, "barter"; Lat. *com-munis*; Gothic *ga-mains* (Ger. *gemein*), and many other words: Brugmann makes the Aryan noun originally "freundlicher Verkehr." Meillet would like to recognise the interrelation of a second root, shown best in Lithuanian: we need not follow this up.

[2] *ERPP*, 37. The Assyrian word was supplied to me by one whom I must now (alas!) call my late colleague, Prof. Hope W. Hogg. Note that in an Assyrian inscription from the library of Assurbanipal, quoted in Zimmern, *KAT*^{3}, 486, the name of Mithra is spelt *Mi-it-ra*. This proves the name current in Assyria from at least the seventh century. It involves, however, the sharp differentiation between the divine name and the Assyrian for "rain" in one particular, the *t* being of different quality (Hebrew ת and ט respectively). Of course the name of Mithra would naturally be reimported in an altered form from a foreign language.

meṭru, "rain," was somehow concerned. But the reading of Meillet's paper has started me on a fresh clue, and I pursue my former line a little beyond the point to which I took it. Does not the existence of this Assyrian word for "rain" fit in singularly well with the curious partnership between Mithra and Anahita which appears at the very beginning of the worship of this goddess in Iranian lands? Our earliest notice of her (Herodotus, i. 131) expressly asserts her Semitic origin, which is supported on evidence drawn from many quarters: see pp. 238, 394. I have commented on the instructive mistake of Herodotus, who describes the cult of Anahita under the name Μίτρα. Now if one member of this inseparable pair represented the waters above, and the other the rivers and springs below, we have an obvious reason for the association. We really ought to have some reason supplied by those who suggest that an Aryan Light-god was selected for adaptation as partner for a water-sprite in process of being fused with the West Asiatic Mother-goddess. On my theory we postulate Rain and River as a divine pair associated in some Semitic district. The former would easily develop a connexion with the firmament: compare Genesis (1^6), where we read of the solid canopy through which, when the sluices were opened, the rain came down. At this point we may conceive contact between Semitic and Aryan, with the almost identical names to prompt a new idea—that the sky is the all-seeing witness which guarantees good faith in contracts of man with man. In the purely Iranian religion this never passed beyond an attribute applied to the ethical deity Mithra. By "purely Iranian" I mean here that strain of Avestan religion which was independent of Zarathushtra, and probably developed in a country into which his Reform did not penetrate. The Tenth Yasht is addressed to a Mithra whom Zarathushtra might not have disdained to acknowledge. But, as we shall see, in his own country he seems to have been in contact with a Mithra cult that he could not countenance in any way. That was, if I am divining rightly, an elemental worship essentially akin to that which by further syncretism issued at last in the great system of Mithraism, a religion so totally distinct from that of the Avesta that we shall naturally leave it on one side except where it supplies a few scattered hints for our purpose. It is perhaps significant that Zarathushtra can use the common noun *miθra* with a religious meaning: "his vow and his ties of faith" (*Ys* 46^5) actually adds the very word (*urvāiti*) with which Meillet identifies the root of *Varuṇa*. This is in welcome accord with the supposition that in the Gathic period *miθra* and *Miθra* were still consciously distinct words.

It is time to pass on, and we have still some points of special interest to bring out from the great passage in Herodotus. His statement that the Persians used neither images nor shrines nor altars is supported by good evidence from various quarters. Genuine Parsism was, indeed, without images to the last. Porphyry[1] was true to the spirit of earlier Mazdeism and Iranian nature-worship, as well as the syncretic Parsism of his day, in his statement that "the body of Oromazdes is like light and his soul like truth."

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[1] Quoted, p. 391 below.

When Clement of Alexandria would convict the Persians of idolatry, he quotes Deinon[1] for the statement that they "sacrificed in the open air, accounting fire and water the only images of gods." It was only after many courses of years that Artaxerxes II. taught them to worship the image of Anahita. There were earlier apparent exceptions to the rule, in the figures of Ahura Mazdah sculptured on the Behistan Rock and elsewhere, but the Parsis have claimed that these represent only the Fravashi. The winged solar disk, an importation from Egypt, is a further exception; and at a later period we have the highly syncretic cultus of Cappadocia, as described by Strabo,[2] in which images of "Omanus" were carried in procession. Geldner has acutely compared *Vd* 19^{20-25}, where a similar use of an image is very strongly suggested for Vohumanah, who is usually identified with Strabo's Omanus. But, after all, these deviations are on much the same footing as the Bethel Calf when set against the Second Commandment: the general spirit of the religion is unmistakable.[3] For a surface inconsistency as to shrines between Herodotus and Behistan, I may refer to my note below, p. 391.

Altars, such as Greeks would recognise, were certainly absent. The sacrifice is very primitive in its character, consisting of flesh laid on a carpet of tender grass, to which the deity is invited to come down, the messenger being the sacred Fire. This has a close link with the Veda, where the grass carpet has a name which in the ritual of the Avesta has been modified to suit a Magian cult instrument, as we shall see later (p. 190).

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[1] *Protrept.*, v. § 65. For Deinon see the *locus* in Diogenes Laertius, and note thereon, below, p. 415.

[2] See the passage below, p. 409, and further notes on p. 101 f.

[3] See further, p. 96, and Söderblom, *Fravashis*, 68.

Many features of popular Persian religion I may leave to Herodotus as reproduced below, with comments linking his record with our other information. It remains to make a few general remarks on its character, and add some notes on features which do not come out conspicuously in his account. The comparison of native Iranian religion with the earlier forms, depicted with masterly analysis by Prof. Otto Schrader in his monograph on Indo-European Religion,[1] shows how much of the primeval inheritance the Iranians retained—much more, it would seem, than the Indo-Aryans. I have just discussed the chief example of the *Sondergötter*, or "special gods," whom Schrader regards as conspicuous in the primitive religion. Mithra, as god of Contracts, is by no means the only survival of this very ancient type. There is the genius of Victory, whom the Greeks as well as the Romans adored. Prof. Bartholomae renders *vṛtrahan-vərəθrajan* "assault-repelling, victorious," which implies that the Indian demon Vṛtra was a creature of imaginative etymology, belonging to a period when the true meaning of *vṛtra* was lost. The Later Avestan Verethraghna was simply the old *Sondergott* of war. It would perhaps be right to bring into this class the great Avestan Fire-spirit, who shares with the Earth (*Aramaiti*) the privilege of keeping under Zarathushtra the prominence he enjoyed in the unreformed Iranian religion. It would have been natural to include Fire with the Nature gods, as we certainly should do with the Indian Agni. But, as Prof. E. Lehmann points out,[1] the Indian tribes radically modified their inheritance in this matter when they migrated into a sub-tropical climate. Fire became for them the consumer of the sacrifice, which he bore up to the "heavenly ones"; and with a new function he received a new name, Agni, cognate with the Romans' *ignis* and the Lithuanian *ugnis szwenta*, "holy fire." But in Aryan days, as in Herodotus (i. 132) and the Avesta, the sacrifice was not burnt at all, but the gods were invited to come down and partake on the spot. The sacred fire was called Ātar, the house fire, with which name we compare the Latin *atrium*, the room that contained the hearth. Northern tribes continued to regard this institution as under the patronage of a specially important *Sondergott*: Ἑστία and Vesta are obvious witnesses, and Ātar is of their company. With the migration southwards the hearth fire necessarily disappeared. It is suggestive to compare the change of the old word *tepos*, which connoted grateful warmth in Italy, and perhaps gave the Scyths in their inhospitable country a goddess Tabiti.[2] In India *tapas* is "penance"! Lehmann shows how Ātar was the great purifier who illuminated the night, kept off bitter cold and wild beasts, and destroyed noxious and devilish powers generally. The myth of Ātar's victory over the serpent *Aži Dahâka* is characteristically Iranian, and goes back to the old nomadic life when the tribes were ranging over the steppes. But indeed it goes back further still, if we may compare with Lehmann such Germanic myths as Loki's binding by Thor. With the *Sondergötter* we may also set two other very different conceptions, or sets of conceptions. On the one side is *Soma-Haoma*, the drink of immortality, suggested to us at this point by the remarkable omission of Herodotus, who says that the Persians used "no libation" at their sacrifice. Against this negative we have the strongest evidence that the *Sondergott* of the sacred intoxicant exercised his power in Aryan days. Tiele[1] would solve the problem by making the cultus late, arising first in a district lying between India and Iran, and spreading N.W. and S.E. The theory breaks down on conclusive evidence that Haoma was known and banned by Zarathushtra himself. In Vedic India Soma was, like the Avestan *Haoma dūraoša* ("Averter of death"), a drink of immortality, and was closely connected with the moon. The crescent in the tropical evening descends the sky with the horns pointing up to the zenith, suggesting to primitive fancy a cup that was being filled by the gods of the firmament with a draught of silver hue, to be quaffed at the banquet when the day was done. Soma was prepared by crushing the stalk of a plant, not yet identified, which, when fermented, produced a drink strongly alcoholic in character. This feature survives in the Gathas, for Zarathushtra sternly ignores the name of the divine drink, and makes unmistakable allusions to the evil results of such a cult. Orgiastic nocturnal sacrifices,[1] held perhaps in honour of Mithra, Slayer of the Bull, and under the inspiration of Haoma, were among the grievances of quiet Mazdayasnian agriculturists against the Daevayasnian nomads. "When wilt thou smite the pollution of this intoxicant?" says the Prophet (*Ys* 48^{10}); and though the Magian guardians of his hymns took care that Haoma should not be named, we can hardly doubt that he was meant. Indeed, there is one place (*Ys* 32^{14}) where his standing epithet *dūraoša* gives us an unambiguous reference: the enemies of the Religion promote a slaying of cattle "that it may kindle the Averter of Death to help us."[2]

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[1] "Aryan Religion" in *ERE*, ii. 11–57.

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[1] In Saussaye's *Handbuch*, p. 183.

[2] But see Hirt, *Die Indogermanen*, ii. 587.

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[1] *Religionsgesch.*, ii. 234.

A similar connexion between Haoma and the syncretic figure of Mithra, the Slayer of the Bull, might be recognised in the notice preserved by Ctesias,[3] that the Persian king used to get drunk on the one day of the year when they sacrificed to Mithra. In the period of the Yashts, which seems to have been the age of the kings, Haoma reappears in all his glory. The most elaborate and best preserved of all the hymns is dedicated to him, the only one which still retains its verse character throughout. But we gather that the Iranian Bacchus has in the interval signed the pledge. There is no suggestion of alcohol, and Haoma is a magical, mystical drink which to all appearance is harmless enough, whether it bestowed immortality or no. I am inclined to suggest that the plant used for this purpose failed the people as they migrated westward out of the land where Zarathushtra preached and taught his Gathas. Later substitutes lacked the very element that made Haoma hateful to the Prophet and attractive to the reveller. And in another part of Iran the failure of the original plant might well cause the disappearance of the whole ritual, and make the Persian sacrifice lose the "libation" which in Aryan times was its necessary accompaniment. The fact that Xerxes poured a libation into the sea, as noted above, may be remembered as showing that Herodotus is not quite consistent. And there are one or two theophoric names, with *Hauma* as first element, which we must not overlook. *Haumadāta* occurs as a Persian name in the Aramaic papyri of Elephantine, at the date 459 B.C.[1] The Scythians of *Haumavarka* (?) are named on the Behistan Rock, but of course their provenance removes them from Persian surroundings.

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[1] It is possible that these orgies included other elements. Dr Tisdall suggests (*Mythic Christs and the True*, p. 12) that the confusion in Herodotus between Mithra and Anahita may point to ritual immorality in Mithra-worship, resembling what the historian knew of in the cult of Ishtar.

[2] Hence Vohumanah significantly supplants Mithra as lord of cattle.

[3] And Douris: see Cumont, *Textes*, ii. 10.

Last in this class of deities we may note those which were destined to be adapted by Zarathushtra for use in his abstract system. The comparison with Roman religion, at which we have hinted already, prepares us to believe in the primitive antiquity of shadowy powers that might well seem to us too advanced for an early period in the development of thought. But it seems undeniable that *Ṛta-Aša* is an Aryan conception, the principle of order, conceived as under the guardianship of the highest gods.[1] Nor was this the only Amshaspand which Zarathushtra thus adapted. The connexion of his *χšaθra*, "Dominion," with metals may be built on a pre-existing *Sondergott* as well as on the idea of the eschatological ordeal; see p. 98. Aramaiti, the Earth, and Haurvatat and Ameretat, in their connexion with Water and Plants, belong to the type of Nature powers.

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[1] According to Prof. E. Meyer, *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine*, . 28.

We come into a different sphere when we turn from these abstract divinities, presiding over special provinces of human life, to the **Deivōs* of Indo-European religion, the "Heavenly Ones," who came to their most conspicuous development in the Olympians of Greek fancy. The great pair, Heaven and Earth, were presumably at their head, and the other Nature powers named in the list of Herodotus are also unmistakably of Aryan antiquity. But I need not go into any detail on this subject here, for the most important points connected with the Indian *devâs* and Avestan *daēvå* will claim very special attention later on. Schrader's remark that the "Heavenly Ones" were less concerned with the guardianship of morality than the Ancestor-spirits —to whom we return in Lecture VIII.[2]—will prepare us for the strange fate which they met in the Reform of Zarathushtra.

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[1] Cf. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. ii. Prof. Oldenberg would credit Babylon with this conception: see *Religion des Veda*, 195 ff., where he gives a full account of the Indian picture of Ṛta. The closeness of Vedic and Later Avestan is well seen in the identity (noted by Darmesteter) of the Vedic *Khā ṛtasya* and *ašahē χå* (*Ys* 10^4).

[2] For a specially important ancestor-spirit, *Yama-Yima*, who is also linked with the Heavenly Ones, see the discussion of the Iranian Fall-story, p. 148 f.

We come, finally, to the climax of our problem of reconstruction when we ask in what period the old Iranian religion and the Zarathushtrian Reform met in the Persian world as a whole, as distinguished from the private belief of a king like Darius and his own caste of Achæmenian "Aryans." The first appearance of such critical names as those of Zarathushtra, the Amshaspands, and Ahriman will be the indications for which we must be looking. Their absence, as we have seen, need not necessarily outweigh other evidence when a strong case has been made. But of course their positive presence is decisive.

For chronological purposes we must depend upon the inscriptions and the Greek writers, the date of the Avesta being transferred from the category of evidence into that of the *quod erat demonstrandum.* Herodotus, therefore, must be the starting-point of our inquiry. I assume for this purpose that he really travelled in countries where he could collect first-hand information about both Persians and Magi. This fact seems to me warranted by the accuracy of his information, which stands all the tests we are able to impose. I need not say I should not claim infallibility for him. Even twentieth-century travellers make mistakes; and Herodotus could make a curious blunder about the Persian language,[1] and by his confusion of Mithra and Anahita provide us with information such as other writers' accuracy cannot always rival. But his knowledge is too detailed and recondite to be obtained without observation. He must, I think, therefore have travelled beyond Babylon. I need not venture more precise definitions, but may note that the late Prof. Strachan[1] included Susa. The period of these travels, about the middle of the fifth century, falls some seventy years after the failure of the Magi in their bid for temporal power. The *Magophonia*[2] still kept the memory of their failure alive, but they had long won compensation. Herodotus found them in undisputed possession of the priesthood; and we are free to infer that they were already at work upon that fusion of the three main elements in Avestan religion which we shall find well advanced during the next century. But Herodotus is perfectly aware of the differences between Magian and Persian. The priestly caste preserved their own separate identity, as they were bound to do if they would retain the reverence of their fellow-Medes. Indeed, a certain aloofness was effective even for the achievement of their first object, the attaining of an exclusive hold upon the office of *zaotar* or *āθravan* among the Persians. But this is anticipating the special subject of Lecture VI., and we must return to our chronology.

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[1] See the note below on *Herod.* i. 139, p. 398.

Herodotus is silent as to the crucial names Ὡρομάσδης, Ἀρειμάνιος, and Ζωροάστρης. The meaning of his silence I have discussed elsewhere; but it clearly presses us to look carefully for the period when the silence is broken. The question is rather technical, and is discussed accordingly in a special note below (p. 422 f.), but the results may be collected here. We find that when these names begin to appear in Greek writers, their form proves beyond doubt that they came from Old Persian, and not direct from the Gathas or the Later Avesta. There has therefore been adaptation, and it proves to be more considerable than has sometimes been assumed. When we ask for the name of the earliest Greek writer to report these central Avestan titles, we find one a whole century before any other, Xanthus the Lydian, a contemporary of Herodotus, who is credited with a mention of Zoroaster as having lived 6000 years before Xerxes.[1] The fragment in which this statement is made bears marks of authenticity, and a Lydian had information near at hand in his own country. No native Greek mentions Zoroaster till the middle of the fourth century. Deinon, whose son Cleitarchus accompanied Alexander and wrote his annals, explained "in the fifth book of his *Histories*" that Ζωροάστρης meant ἀστροθύτης.[2] From about the same date comes the witness of the pseudo-Platonic dialogue *Alkibiades I.*, where we read of "Zoroaster son of Oromasdes." Aristotle, in the lost work Περὶ Φιλοσοφίας, is said by Diogenes[3] to have mentioned the two Principles, "Zeus or Oromazdes" and "Hades or Areimanios." We see then that the Greeks knew of Zoroaster and the deity he preached at the end of the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon (404–358 B.C.), and knew of Ahriman a little later.

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[1] *The Sixth Book of Herodotus*, p. xiii.

[2] *Herod.* iii. 79: see p. 186 f.

Now at this point we are reminded that the king just named was an innovator in religion. Berosus tells us[1] that he set up images of Anahita; and if his testimony is questioned as dating a century after Mnemon, there is the fact that the king's two inscriptions support the statement. In that from Susa he says,[2] "By the grace of Auramazda, Anahita, and Mithra I built this palace. May Auramazda, Anahita, and Mithra protect me!" And in the British Museum inscription from Hamadan we find the words, "Let Auramazda, Anahita, and Mithra [protect] me," curiously spelt, in the Old Persian text. The triad never appears in the earlier Achæmenian Inscriptions, and it is very significant, as noted elsewhere (p. 239), that of the two newcomers the goddess stands first.

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[1] See the note on Diogenes Laertius, below, p. 415.

[2] *Ibid.* See also p. 210 f.

[3] See p. 415.

How far does this take us? Practically, I think, to a conclusion that a religion much like that of the Yashts was established in the Persian court and among the people in the first half of the fourth century. Anahita had fairly arrived, and her images were familiar, before the fifth Yasht could be composed. Zarathushtra's name was venerated as that of a divine sage supposed to have lived millennia before. The Magi (see p. 135 f.) had taken out of the Gathas his epithet for the spirit of evil; and the metrical Yashts could be composed much as we have them, with but little that we could call really Zoroastrian. The religion was practically the unreformed Iranian polytheism, with the Reformer's name retained to atone for the absence of his spirit. What new elements there were came not from him, but from Semitic sources, or through the powerful influence of the Magian priesthood, already at work. The day of their complete triumph was not yet. How they effected a further syncretism, introducing much that differed widely from Zarathushtra, and even from the Iranian religion on which he built, is another story, to which we must devote a separate Lecture. When we come to this, we shall find that, though another five centuries have passed, the Magian priests preserved the old remarkably well, and did not only establish the new.

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[1] *Ap.* Clem. Alex., *Protr.*, v. § 65. See p. 68.

[2] In the Susianian version; the Old Persian is defective.

LECTURE III

THE PROPHET AND THE REFORM

They said unto him, Who art thou?
He said, I am a Voice.
Gospel of John.

That Zarathushtra is a historical character, who was already ancient when the Greeks first heard his name, has been briefly stated in the preceding Lectures. In returning to the subject rather more fully, I cannot do better than quote the excellent summary of Prof. Geldner, which comes to us with authority from one of the two or three greatest living experts.[1]

> The Gathas alone claim to be authentic utterances of Zoroaster, his actual expressions in presence of the assembled congregation. They are the last genuine survivals of the doctrinal discourses with which—as the promulgator of a new religion—he appeared at the court of King Vīshtāspa.
>
> The person of the Zoroaster whom we meet with in these hymns differs *toto cœlo* from the Zoroaster of the younger Avesta. He is the exact opposite of the miraculous personage of later legend—a mere man, standing always on the solid ground of reality, whose only arms are trust in his God and the protection of his powerful allies. At times his position is precarious enough. He whom we hear in the Gathas has had to face not merely all forms of outward opposition and the unbelief and lukewarmness of

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[1] *Enc. Brit.*^{11}, xxviii. 1040.

> adherents, but also the inward misgivings of his own heart as to the truth and final victory of his cause. At one time hope, at another despondency; now assured confidence, now doubt and despair; here a firm faith in the speedy coming of the Kingdom of Heaven, there the thought of taking refuge by flight—such is the range of the emotions which find their immediate expression in these hymns. And the whole breathes such a genuine originality, all is psychologically so accurate and just, the earliest beginnings of the new religious movement, the childhood of a new community of faith, are reflected so naturally in them all, that it is impossible for a moment to think of a later period of composition by a priesthood whom we know to have been devoid of any historical sense and incapable of reconstructing the spiritual conditions under which Zoroaster lived.

It is needless to elaborate the estimate sketched in this paragraph, which must, I think, command the assent of all really careful and unbiassed readers of the Gathas. I will only fill in the outline a little in two parts of the picture. The proper names of the Gathas supply us with evidence which the mythical theory will find it hard to rebut. Zarathushtra himself is a problem for the mythologist to start with. By various manipulations the name has been tortured into conformity with meanings more or less appropriate for legend;[1] and if the motive be supplied we might conceive popular etymology at work in a dialect more or less remote from that in which the name originated. But apart from such—and surely the burden of proof must rest on those who insist on deserting the natural for the recondite,—no one could doubt that like his father-in-law *Fraša-uštra* the Prophet was named from *uštra*,[1] the camel, just as his patron *Vīšta-aspa* and his son-in-law *Jāma-aspa* from *aspa*, the horse: compare *Prēxaspēs* (*Frašāspa*) in Herodotus. The case is strengthened by the similarity of the other names in the primitive circle. The clan name Spitama[2] is not quite clear, but it is most naturally derived from *spita* (Skt *çvitra*, O.E. *hwit*), "white," which does not lend itself to suggestions of myth. Zarathushtra's parents, Pourushaspa ("with grey horses") and Dughdhova ("who has milked cows"), are not named in the Gathas, but the Later Avesta did not invent these very prosaic names.[3] The Gathic *Hvogva*, the clan name of the brothers Frashaoshtra and Jamaspa, and of Zarathushtra's wife Hvovi, means "having fine oxen." These names all suggest very clearly the pastoral community in which they arose. The Prophet's cousin *Maidyōimåŋha* ("(born) at mid-month") has a name of a different stamp, but no less unhopeful for the theorist out myth-hunting. Zarathushtra's children are equally suggestive in a complementary way. His son *Išaṯvāstra* (not Gathic), "desiring pastures," represents one very prominent side of Zarathushtra's ideal. His daughter *Pourucistā*, whose nuptial ode is *Ys* 53, is named "very thoughtful" by a father who regarded thought as great riches, and did not grudge it to a daughter. The whole series evidences a very real and lifelike situation. I will only further repeat (from Bartholomae) a Gathic verse which crystallises particularly well "the reality of the conditions under which the Gathas arose":—

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[1] One of the most ingenious may be seen in F. Müller's paper, *WZKM*, 1892, p. 264.

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[1] See *AirWb*, 1676, where *zarant*, "old" (Skt *jarant*, *γέρων*), is (I think rightly) taken as supplying the first part. We may imagine his parents commemorating in the name a camel they had ridden for many years. (See also *Zum AirWb*, 240, for the latest misdirected ingenuity in this field.)

[2] Cf. Σπιτάμας in Ctesias, Σπιταμένης (an Eastern Iranian).

[3] Thomas Hyde (*Historia*, p. 312) equates Dughdhova with *Dodo*, and favours us with a plate whereby we may recognise the bird. Mythologists might make capital out of this: I cheerfully present them with the hint.

> The Kavi's wanton did not please Zarathushtra Spitama at the Winter Gate, in that he stayed him from taking refuge with him, and when there came to him also Zarathushtra's two steeds shivering with cold (*Ys* 51^{12}).

Zarathushtra, travelling in the bitter cold of a Persian winter, had been turned away from shelter by the servant of a *Kavi*, or *daēvayasna* chief, whom he fiercely calls by an opprobrious name. This little picture from homely experience may be commended as a promising exercise to the pupils of Jensen for interpretation in terms of astral mythology. The reader who is not yet satisfied as to the hopelessness of the quest of legend in the Gathas may look at *Ys* 29^{10}, 31^{15}, 44^{18}, and many other stanzas in the translations of the appendix below, with the note on the first of them.

The crucial question of the date of Zarathushtra has been discussed already in the first Lecture. The question of the sphere of his ministry is equally important and closely linked with it. I need not repeat here the argument of Prof. Williams Jackson,[1] by which he seeks to prove that Zarathushtra was born in Âdarbaijân, in Western Iran, but that there is at least a good case for supposing him to have preached in Bactria. Prof. Jackson gives impartial

[1] *Zoroaster*, p. 205–225.

summaries of the argument for Media and that for Bactria. The former (p. 224) includes some pleas which disappear automatically if there is anything in my doctrine of the Magian stratum in the Avesta. Western elements will, on my reading, be introduced by Median Magi, who need have had nothing at all to do with the pure Zarathushtrian propaganda of generations earlier. I am not impressed with the oft-repeated conjecture that the Median king Phraortes was the first to introduce Zoroastrianism as the national religion of Media. That his name really means "confessor" is only one among several possibilities; and if it does, we must not overlook the fact that Herodotus, to whom we owe our knowledge of this king's existence, tells us that his grandfather, a person in private life, had the same name.[1]

I had occasion at the end of Lecture II. to sketch some of the considerations which weigh with me in my conviction that I must go forth boldly from Prof. Jackson's cautiously neutral position, and seek the first home of Parsism in Eastern Iran. Before developing this further, I should like to quote Prof. Bartholomae, with whose judgement on this important matter I am glad to find myself in accord. He says (in *AirWb*, 1675):—

> The assertion that Zarathushtra was born in the West of Iran is by no means inconsistent with the fact that all decisive passages of the Avesta (especially *Yt* 19^{66} f.) point to the East, the neighbourhood of Lake Hâmûn. We can suppose that the Reformer left his home because he found no sympathy there, or was even driven to leave it. We may also thus interpret the strong emphasis he laid on

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[1] See below, p. 269.

> agriculture. The West of Iran undoubtedly took a higher position in agriculture than in the East, where complete settlement was still far off. Zarathushtra must accordingly have set himself to transplant to the scene of his active work the blessing of the well-ordered conditions prevailing in the home of his birth. It is thus quite conceivable that Vishtaspa as a wise ruler gave his special favour and support to the exiled preacher just because of these efforts of his.

That Bactria was a perfectly possible field for Zarathushtra's preaching is suggested by some inferences from a report we possess of a mission of Tchang K'ien to the north of the Oxus in 128 B.C. The envoy found in Ta-yuan (Khorassan) and Ta-hia (Bactria) two classes of population, nomads and "unwarlike." Of the latter he says that they can make themselves understood from Ferghana to Parthia with difference of dialect. The men have deep blue eyes and large beards and whiskers. They are astute traders. In Ta-hia there is no supreme ruler, each city and town electing its own chief. They pay great deference to their women, the husbands being guided by them in their decisions.[1] This last point recalls the Germans of Tacitus, as does the description of their physique. Have we here the traces of the northern immigration? I am very much afraid we cannot credit the earliest Indo-European immigrants into Asia with being "unwarlike," but they may have attained to this more civilised state after a few generations of settled life. The nomads on this view will be aboriginal. However this may be, the agricultural population, dwelling among nomads, reflects the features of the Gathas sufficiently well. The local autonomy answers to the familiar Avestan institution of *zantupaiti* and *vīspaiti*: Vishtaspa himself need not have been a ruler of the Western autocratic style.

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[1] I summarise from Mr W. W. Tarn's paper, "Notes on Hellenism in Bactria and India," *Journ. of Hellenic Studies*, xxii. 268–293.

In addition to Bartholomae's quotation, where good Pahlavi tradition recognises the Hamun swamp in Saistan, we have the fact that *Airyana Vaējah* is mentioned with *X*^{v}*āirizam* (Chorasmia) and *Suγδa* (Sogdiana) as the last link of a chain extending from S.E. to N.E.[1] With the statement quoted above from Mr Tarn's paper, that in the second century B.C. the Bactrians could make themselves understood as far as Parthia, we may compare Strabo's remark (p. 724) that the name of Ariana extends as far as to include Bactrians and Sogdians, who are "nearly identical in speech": on this see further p. 233 f.

There are sundry arguments on points of detail which might be elaborated here, but I only wish to dwell now on some general considerations. An assertion more often made than proved is that the Avesta owes much to Babylonian ideas. I have to confess that I cannot discover what these ideas may be.[2] A few isolated possibilities, clearly late in origin, may be collected; but, speaking generally, the Avesta is remarkably free from influences of the kind, and when we go back to the Gathas there is literally nothing to suggest it. Now, when we remember how widespread the dominion of Babylon was in matters of thought, we can hardly doubt that only a distant and rather primitive country could have been free from its influence. Note, for instance, the striking absence of star-lore in the Gathas, and its strict limitation in the later Avesta. Prof. Cumont's recent American lectures bring out impressively how powerful was the astrology of Babylon. How did Parsism escape all real trace of its influence? This consideration reinforces what I said above about the slowness with which real Zarathushtrian conceptions found their way to the West. We shall see that the Amshaspands are the most distinctive feature of Zarathushtra's own thought. That they can hardly be traced outside the Avesta till the first century A.D. is an obvious fact, even though we can get scraps of evidence for them in earlier days, enough to establish a presumption that they were already in being.[1] But if we had nothing but this evidence to rely upon, it would go hard with us in our effort to prove the historicity of Zarathushtra's person and the antiquity of his Gathas. The real answer to the sceptic's question, "Where were the Amshaspands during the last five centuries B.C.?" is "In Eastern Iran, outside the world we know." The religious abstractions of Zarathushtra were in any case far too difficult for the popular mind. They attracted thoughtful aristocrats, and chiefs who felt the economic advantages of the extremely sane and practical lore of husbandry with which they seemed so strangely linked. But outside the court we may be quite sure the Iranian people went on with their old nature-worship as before, even as they were certainly doing when the Father of History travelled in Aryan lands. And when at last the esoteric teaching of the great prophet and thinker found its public, it was through the interpretation of ritualist Magi, faithful to some, but by no means all, of the doctrines they had brought "from far," as the Haptanghaiti significantly hints.[1] The Amshaspands are just the element most likely to fall into the background until the Magi had fully developed their angelology, and adapted the conceptions of the Prophet whom they claimed as one of themselves, to fit their own elaborated dualism. I do not think we need more explanation of this silence about the most conspicuous, but least popular, element in the theology of the Gathas.

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[1] Reichelt, *Avesta Reader*, p. 97, citing *Yt* 10^{14}, *Vd* 1^{1} f., and the cuneiform inscr. *Dar. Pers.* e^{2}, *NR* a^{3} (*D.* 5^{2}, 6^{3} in Bartholomae's notation).

[2] See this discussed more fully in Lecture VII.

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[1] See below, p. 104 f.

I have discussed elsewhere (p. 39 ff.) the problem of the religion of the Achæmenians, and have argued for the conjecture that Vishtaspa the father of Darius was deliberately named after the king whose favour gave Zarathushtra his long-sought success. That Vishtaspa's queen Hutaosa was also commemorated in the Achæmenian family, in Atossa the daughter of Cyrus, is the only piece of evidence I know in support of the claim that Cyrus was in any sense a Zoroastrian. It seems to me that both names show simply the existence of a pronounced connexion with the ancient royal house in which Zarathushtra found shelter. That connexion need not in either case be religious. It is possible enough that Achæmenes (*Haχāmaniš*) was the founder of a new dynasty of Aryans in the very country where Vishtaspa ruled, and that the interval was occupied by Turanian chiefs, who seized power under conditions vividly portrayed in the legends: we remember that Zarathushtra himself was slain (according to Firdausi) in the Turanian invasion at the storming of Balkh.[1] To other indications that Vishtaspa's country was in Eastern Iran, I might add the fact already noted in Lecture II. (p. 45), that Darius's father was in Parthia when a rebellion broke out. I have conjectured that he was "King," like Cyrus at Murghab, but not "King of kings," succeeding to a satrapy carved out of a petty monarchy which had perhaps been established in Parthia since the Achæmenian dynasty arose. The other branch of the family, from which Cyrus sprang, may have established themselves in a different part of Eastern Iran. When they extended their power westward, or actually migrated to Ansan, driven out possibly by the same forces which we have postulated for the fall of the old Kayanian dynasty, we naturally cannot tell. I do not, of course, claim this reconstruction as anything more than conjectural, but I think it meets the facts. It suits, moreover, the linguistic phenomena. In dialect and in thought, taken together, the Gatha Haptanghaiti stands nearest of Iranian documents to the Veda. Gathic was on my view the language of a district lying half way between Parthia and the Indus, now Saïstan. Saïstan is described as a country of fertile soil, well fitted therefore for either tilling or grazing, and suited to the pursuits which are preached so earnestly in the Gathas. Here the Bundahish finds Lake Kạsaoya, in which the seed of Zarathushtra was preserved under the guardianship of myriads of Fravashis till the time of Saoshyant's conception.

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[1] *Ys* 42^6: *aθaurunąmcā paitī·ająθrəm yazamaidē yōi yeyąm dūrāṯ ašō·īšō daȟyunąm*, "and the coming again of the priests we adore, who go from far to them that seek Right in the lands." The Later Avesta distinguishes priests on home and on foreign service: see *AirWb*, 681, 865.

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[1] See Jackson, *Zoroaster*, 130.

Somewhere in this triangular district, with Parthia, Bactria, and Drangiana as its apices, we may suppose that Vishtaspa reigned and Zarathushtra won his converts. The latitude 30° N. has already been noted as suiting some astronomical conditions (p. 24): it is about the most northerly at which the four Regent stars could all be observed ruling four quarters of the sky when their leader, Sirius, rose. This would probably mean that we should find two districts, fairly separated from one another, but both near the same parallel, to account for the difference between Gathic and Later Avestan dialect. The latter would presumably be located on the western side of our suggested area, so as to be a step towards the occupation of Media which comes before us in historic times. The totally unknown names which fill the roll of departed saints in *Yt* 13, and the absence of historical monarchs in the royal records of *Yt* 19, help us to realise that it was not in the Avestan period that the Religion fairly occupied the lands we know from history. I have tried to prove elsewhere (p. 77) that the first half of the fourth century marks the most distinctive epoch in the westward spread of the syncretic religion which absorbed the teaching of Zarathushtra.

Since I make no pretence to completeness, and aim only at examining a series of important problems which are vital to a real understanding of the religion, I need not apologise for spending more space on the question of the birthplace of the faith than upon the personal history of the Reformer. It is little enough that we can gather from the Gathas as to Zarathushtra's life and work, and the later legends are mostly negligible,[1] except in so far as their absurdity throws up in relief the entire credibility of the story which underlies the Gathas. One of these legends I will just mention because of its literary association. In my *Early Religious Poetry of Persia* (p. 51–54) I sketched the possibility that in the most famous of his shorter poems Virgil used the story that Zoroaster laughed when he was born. When, then, Virgil calls on his wondrous child,

> Incipe, parue puer, *risu* cognoscere matrem,

he means "rival the storied Sage of the East." I may repeat part of my argument in support of this thesis:

> Assuming that this means "to greet thy mother with a smile"—and the alternative "by *her* smile" forces the Latin intolerably—we have at once a difficulty which seems to have escaped the commentators. The whole point of the passage is that the child is *new-born*—indeed, if Prof. Conway is right,[2] not even that. And when did a new-born child laugh or even smile at anybody? Is not the poet here, as in so much of this mysterious poem, using Eastern imagery? "Risisse eodem die quo genitus esset unum hominem accepimus Zoroastrem," says Pliny (*HN*, vii. 15), a century after the Eclogue was written. Virgil's Child should share that unique distinction. Indeed, the remaining lines of the poem will gain point if we assume that Virgil, so diligent a reader of Greek literature, knew what Greek writers had told of Zoroaster generations before, his receiving laws in direct converse with the Deity. Virgil's conclusion,
>
> Incipe, parue puer: qui non risere parenti [or parentis],
> nec deus hunc mensa, dea nec dignata cubili est,

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[1] These are of course accessible in Jackson's *Zoroaster*.

[2] *Vergil's Messianic Eclogue* (London, 1907), p. 13 ff. Note Mr Warde Fowler's interesting citation from Suetonius in the same book (p. 71), showing that Virgil himself was believed at birth to have abstained from crying.

> is in its first element well satisfied by this allusion, assuming the classical embellishment that the divinity not only instructed but feasted the sage. To bring in the second point involves the assumption that the West had received another very prominent element in the Zoroaster-legend: that we have no evidence of this may be frankly confessed, but its absence is entirely natural. In the Yashts we read of Zarathushtra's wife Hvovi, a member of a noble family at Vishtaspa's court. Two brothers of this family are named with their patronymic in the Gathas as conspicuous among Zarathushtra's disciples and helpers. . . . On this wholly natural basis later legend built a marvellous superstructure. Unfortunately we cannot fix the period, or tell whether there was authority for it in ancient Avestan texts. According to this story, Zarathushtra has no children by Hvovi in the natural order, but they are to become the parents of three sons who shall be born as the Regeneration draws near; the last of them [being] Saoshyant. . . . It is obvious that Hvovi might just as well be a goddess bride outright, and Virgil may very easily have heard the story in this form, which assimilates it to myths of Greece long familiar to him.

I need add nothing to my exposition, except my gratification that I have convinced my colleague Prof. Conway, who has peculiar claims on our attention in questions affecting Virgil's "Messianic Eclogue." Another legend, that Zoroaster met his "double" or Fravashi walking in a garden,[1] is interesting because of Shelley's use of it: see p. 254. But as we should never think of accepting more than a very small percentage of the legends as worthy of serious investigation, we may pass on. It will be more profitable to study the self-portraiture in the Gathas, dim and scanty though it is, as presented in the translation below. No reader even of these crabbed and obscure texts can fail to realise the sacred ambition of their author, his determined fight against tremendous difficulties, and his unquenchable hope of ultimate triumph, in a world to come if not here below.

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[1] My colleague Prof. Herford tells me that Shelley was well read in the history of non-Christian religions, which had been made easily accessible by the French encyclopædists. Apart from this hint I have no information for identifying Shelley's source.

We turn to the characterising of Zarathushtra's theology, apart from the two special sides of it which are to occupy us in Lectures IV. and V. I begin with his conception of God. It was shown in Lecture I. that the special cultus of the "Wise" *Asura* must have been in existence ages before the traditional date of Zarathushtra, and long before any date that we can with probability assign him.[1] The "Wise Lord" was the special deity of the "Aryans," by whom we must in the Susianian version of the Behistan Inscription, which records the fact, understand the highest social caste, including perhaps all who were really descended from the immigrants from Europe, as distinguished from aboriginal populations that spoke Aryan language. The Ἀριζαντοί of Herodotus will represent the same caste. Now, Zarathushtra could not belong to *two* of the six Median tribes, and the explicit evidence that Ahura Mazdah was "god of the Aryans" is reason enough for believing that he was himself an *ariyazantu*, and not the Magus that much later ages assumed him to be. For those, therefore, among whom Zarathushtra grew up, Ahura Mazdah was the "clan god" (p. 51) of their caste, as superior to the gods of other castes as the Aryan was to the Magus or the Budian, but only "greatest of gods"[1] after all. It would seem that Zarathushtra's first step was to rise from this higher polytheism to monotheism, from a god who was greatest of gods to a god who stood alone.

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[1] See above, p. 31 f., and the more technical discussion, p. 422 f.

I am assuming for the present that Zarathushtra's religion really was monotheistic, postponing the clearing up of some indications which appear to deny this. It is natural to ask whether we can guess any of the forces that worked towards monotheism in Zarathushtra's mind. Judging that mind solely from the Gathas, we find its distinguishing note to be the remarkable combination of abstractness and practical sense. In the world of thought Zarathushtra lives among qualities and attributes and principles which are as real to him as anything he can see, but never seem to need personification. But the ideal never obscures the real for him, and his communion with shadowy spiritual essences leaves him free to come down to cows and pastures without any sense of incongruity. Taking this as a clue, we see at once how the elevation of the god of his caste would effect itself in his mind. His own caste was agricultural, and there were nomad castes from which they were receiving perpetual injury. The fact would stimulate a lively hatred towards the gods of their oppressors. And the national emphasis on Truth would produce in such a mind the speculative inference that Truth must be One, the two qualities of the Prophet's thought converging thus on one great inference to which he was almost the earliest of mankind to leap.

The God who takes his place thus at the centre of the Reformer's religion had lost, if he ever possessed, all real traits of an elemental deity. On this I need not repeat what I said in Lecture II. That Mazdah's connexion with Varuṇa is but slight, as Prof. Jackson declares,[1] may be set beside the doubt whether Varuṇa himself was originally elemental. When Darius in his great credal formula glorifies Mazdah as creator of heaven and earth,[2] any primitive identification with the bright or dark sky must clearly have been long forgotten. And if there are traces in the Avesta of physical attributes which need explaining as survivals, we have only to remember that the *daēvayasna* avowedly set the Sky-god in the centre, and that plentiful elements from that cultus remained in the thought even of strict Zoroastrians in the period when syncretism was advanced or complete. When Angra Mainyu was thought of as ὑπὸ γῆν,[3] Ahura Mazdah was naturally established in the sky without any recollection of a primitive connexion. Whether these survivals, then, are real or accidental, matters very little: it is more important to gather up the moral and spiritual characteristics of the God so pictured. He is Creator of all things, as *Ys* 44 brings out in great fullness, and Darius's creed in brief. Darkness as well as light is his work (*Ys* 44[5]), and upon him the whole course of things depends. He knows all things—men's secret sins (*Ys* 31[13]), and events of the distant future (*Ys* 33[13]). He has "absolute sovranty" (*Ys* 31[21]), though, as we shall see later, the presence of the evil power limits that sovranty during a fixed period of time. And with absolute power and boundless wisdom he has complete freedom from any stain of unworthiness or evil This is quite consistent with the use of not a little anthropomorphic phraseology, which is never allowed to include what would in any sense mar the dignity of the conception of God or associate grotesque incongruities with the reverence due to him. There is, I think, no anthropomorphism in the Gathas to which we could not find an adequate parallel in the Old Testament.

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[1] So *maθišta bagānām* on the Inscriptions.

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[1] *Grundriss*, ii. p. 633.

[2] With which we may compare the cult-title *Daθuš*, "Creator," which gave a name to the tenth month in the calendar, early adopted in Cappadocia: see p. 434. It is a regular title of Mazdah in the Later Avesta.

[3] See below, p. 128 f.

To understand Zarathushtra's doctrine of God we must carefully study the Amshaspands,[1] to give them the Pahlavi title as most convenient. It is very important to notice that the title, though old as the Gatha Haptanghaiti, is not found in the Gathas proper at all. Bartholomae is right in urging that the collection of them into one body is "not Gathic," and results in the "obliteration of the special character" of the six divinities included. The segregation of the Six under a collective name is a work of later theology. It is true that there are many verses in the Gathas where most of them are named, and one or two where they all six appear, and in the usual order, in a verse that looks very much like a catechism answer.[2] But there is a very marked difference in the prominence of the members of the hexad. A rough enumeration of the occurrences of the words in the Gathas—discounted by the difficulty of allowing for places where the names may have no reference to the Amshaspands—shows that *Aša* appears ten to fifteen times as often as *Haurvatāt* and *Amərətāt*, fully three times as often as *Xšaθra*, and four times as often as *Aramaiti*. Asha and Vohu Manah are obviously far more important than the others. And it is not easy to draw a sharp line between the least conspicuous Amshaspands and other spirits of the same general class. *Sraoša*, "obedience," is named almost as often as Haurvatat in the Gathas; and *Gə̄uš urvan*, "Ox-Soul," *Gə̄uš tašan*, "Ox-Creator," and *Âtar*, "Fire," have a conspicuous place. Bartholomae calls them all Ahuras, and they seem to be alike marked with the distinctive feature of Zarathushtra's spirit-world. That is, as I take it, the Ahuras are not really separate from Mazdah or subordinate to him: they seem to be essentially part of his own being, attributes of the Divine endowed with a vague measure of separate existence for the purpose of bringing out the truth for which they severally stand. When the very name of Good Thought can be replaced by "Thy Thought" in addressing Mazdah, it is clear that Vohu Manah cannot be detached from Mazdah except as far as Spenta Mainyu, his "Holy Spirit," may be; and if this is true of one of the two greatest Amshaspands, it may fairly be presumed of the rest. When in later times Aramaiti was called Mazdah's daughter, and Atar his son, it was really the materialised expression of the same fact.

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[1] In its oldest form (Gathic dialect) *spəntā̊ aməšā̊* or in reverse order, each occurring once in Gatha Haptanghaiti. On the meaning of *spənta,* see below, p. 144 f.

[2] *Ys* 47^1 : see *ERPP,* 108 f. I ought to reserve the point of order as far as the first two are concerned. In the Gathas, though not in the Later Avesta, Asha seems to lead. All the Six appear also in *Ys* 45^{10}, in marked dependence on Ahura. See the note there.

What I have said carries with it, if true, the sacrifice of any close connexion between the Amshaspands and similar figures of Vedic or of Babylonian mythology. In an early work, *Ormazd et Ahriman* (1877), Darmesteter tried to demonstrate the existence of a link between the Amshaspands and the *Âdityāḥ* of India, whose name "infinite ones" resembled the "immortals" of the Avesta. I can see no objection in principle to our allowing the Âdityas influence upon the process of collecting the Hexad into a special class: nor should I protest with any energy if an Aryan title were held to lie behind the name by which in the Haptanghaiti the heavenly *collegium* was distinguished. Indeed, I think it likely that Zarathushtra intentionally took up Aryan mythus where it compromised no principle.[1] That *Aramaiti* is clearly the genius of the Earth in the Gathas is noted elsewhere, and that the connexion between *χšaθra* and Metals forms the basis of the eschatological idea of the *ayah χšusta* (p. 157 f.): that *Haurvatāt* and *Amərətāt* are Water and Plants is still more patent. One might almost suggest that Zarathushtra took out of the popular religion the animistic idea of the *fravaši* possessed by every creation of Ahura, and drew from it what suited him.

More seductive is the suggestion that the Amshaspands are connected with the Babylonian planet world. There is the fact that *Assara Mazāš* in the Assyrian inscription already referred to is associated with the "seven Igigi." Now we have undeniably seven Amshaspands in later stages of Parsism. In *Yt* 13^{82} f. we have their sevenfold unity insisted on with emphasis, and their common relation to one Father, the Creator Ahura Mazdah. We must suppose Sraosha to be the seventh.[1] Sometimes when the seven are named, Ahura himself is included. It is noteworthy that in *Tobit* the "seven spirits" are expressly dissociated from God as subordinate. The trait may go back to the Magian original and answer to Assara Mazaš and the seven Igigi. This fixing of the Amshaspands as seven has parallels in the history of the Âdityas, as Darmesteter showed. Whether it came into Parsism by way of Babylonian astrolatry, or represents the survival of an Aryan cultus to which Zarathushtra's system has been accommodated by the methods of Procrustes, we need not stay to inquire, for we are concerned with Zarathushtra's own concepts alone. And here we must resolutely put aside presuppositions drawn from later Parsism, and realise that Zarathushtra cannot be proved by any valid evidence to have created a Hexad, far less a Heptad, to have given them a collective name, or to have depended on either Aryan or Babylonian hints for the invention of abstract ideas strikingly in keeping with his own characteristic thought.

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[1] Some good points in this direction are made by Prof. Carnoy in his article on Aramaiti in *Le Muséon*, n.s., xiii. 127 ff.

We may notice further, in studying the Amshaspands in the Gathas, that there is the same absence of stereotyped forms which we shall observe later in the crucial case of the evil spirit's name. In the Later Avesta "Right" is regularly *Vahišta*; "Dominion" is *Vairya*, "desirable";[2] "Piety" is *Spənta*; and "Good

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[1] So *Ys* 57^{12}: Sraosha "returns to the assembly of the Am. Sp."

[2] "Who ought to be chosen, *i.e.* by free will of man" (Casartelli). It is not Gathic, but *Ys* 43^{13}, 51^{1} show it in the context of *χšaθra*.

Thought" is a fixed combination. But in the Gathas *vohu* ("good") goes with *χšaθra* (*Ys* 31^{22}) as well as *manah*, and "Good Thought" may take the superlative *vahišta* or the possessive "Thy," while Aramaiti usually does without an epithet, or has "good" like her comrades, only five times claiming the "holy" that later became a fixed part of her name. This goes with the obvious fact that the words *aša*, *manah*, and *χšaθra*, and even *amərətāt*, can be used without reference to the technical meaning, while often we are left with no decisive criterion by which to decide between the small initial and the capital in our translation. It is all characteristic of the early stage of development in which we find these floating abstractions, still perfectly fresh and free. We must clearly leave plenty of time for the appellations to become stereotyped. Those who believe that the Indo-Scythian coin-legend *Shahrevar* in the first century A.D. had been developed out of *χšaθra vairya* in a generation or two are pressing probabilities very far indeed!

Strabo has in a well-known passage described the cult of Omanus (or Omanes) in Cappadocia. The description is cited in full below (p. 409). Omanus is associated with Anaïtis,[1] and we are told that an image of him is taken in procession. Strabo had seen this cult himself. In another passage (p. 512) he says that Persian generals built a large barrow in commemoration of a great slaughter of Sacæ, "and set up the shrine of Anaïtis and the gods who share altars with her, Omanus and Anadatus, Persian divinities."[1] He connects this with the Sacæa, which was still observed at Zela (in Pontus). I have quoted the passages to show how far we may regard them as relevant for our present subject. It is generally assumed that Omanus is Vohumanah, while Ἀναδάτου is supposed to be a false reading for Ἀμαρδάτου, and so to represent *Amərətāt*. There are too many assumptions here to make me feel at all easy. Good Thought and Immortality might be selected as the first and the last of the Amshaspands, according to the usual later order. But there is nothing beyond the name Omanus to suggest Amshaspands at all. They have no special link with Anâhita, who was, as we see elsewhere, a deity quite foreign to primitive Zoroastrianism. That need mean little, for clearly the cult here described has suffered severely from syncretism. But the ξόανον of Vohumanah has naturally raised much difficulty. We are assuredly in a very unfamiliar atmosphere when such a divinity has ceased to be aniconic! Geldner, however, has supplied a parallel from the Avesta which is convincing enough.[2] In *Vd* 19^{20-25} rules are given for the "cleansing" of Vohumanah, who is to be taken up by the worshipper and laid down under the light of heaven, and then perfumed with incense. The Pahlavi explains it here as meaning the man's clothes, since the Amshaspand presided over cattle and therefore presumably over hides used for raiment. It will be admitted that Geldner's suggestion is more probable. The

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[1] Ταὐτὰ δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς τῆς ᾽Αναῖτιδος καὶ τοῦ ᾽Ωμάνου νενόμισται· τούτων δὲ καὶ σηκοί εἰσιν, καὶ ξόανον τοῦ ᾽Ωμάνου πομπεύει. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμεῖς ἑωράκαμεν, ἐκεῖνα δ᾽ ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις λέγεται καὶ τὰ ἐφεξῆς.

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[1] καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀναΐτιδος καὶ τῶν συμβώμων θεῶν ἱερὸν ἱδρύσαντο Ὠμάνου καὶ Ἀναδάτου Περσικῶν δαιμόνων.

[2] *Grundriss*, ii. 39.

Vendidad is not likely to contain ritual matter that is older than Strabo; and under the guidance of Magian ideas a worship very different from the old Aryan imageless cult, and still more different from the spiritual religion of Zarathushtra, would easily develop with the name as the only link. We are familiar enough with this kind of process in the history of religion. Those who question the identity of Omanus and Vohumanah should at any rate be ready with an alternative explanation, when Strabo definitely says he and "Anadatus" were Persian *δαίμονες*.[1] The recognition of Ameretat in the corrupt name that follows must of course be left open. I am not disposed to make use of Strabo's evidence as proof that the Amshaspands were popular divinities in Cappadocia in the first century. A scholar whose scepticism is robust enough to make him postulate Gathas composed in a dead language under the inspiration of Philo will not be troubled greatly with an argument drawn from the identification of Omanus, nor will he recognise the necessity of providing an alternative. I only point out here that Strabo's witness is perfectly congruous on the orthodox theory, and actually gains in reasonableness when we put Zarathushtra's date further back still. It is, moreover, supported by the nearly contemporary witness of the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka. There we have Khshathra and perhaps Asha, with the form stereotyped and developed into Middle Persian dialect; while the presence of the disguised form of the name of Vishtaspa's father Aurvat-aspa testifies to the permanence of the Zarathushtrian tradition, and the names of old Aryan gods—Verethraghna, Tishtrya (or perhaps Tîra—see p. 435 f.), Mithra, etc.—attest the syncretism of the Avesta as already complete.

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[1] See note [1] on p. 101.

But here comes in Prof. Cumont's argument from the Cappadocian Calendar. In a short note appended to a quotation from Moses of Chorene (*Textes*, ii. 6) he calls attention to the fact that the Cappadocian months bore Avestan names "scarcely altered," as may be seen undeniably from the names as restored from a medley of late Greek MSS. in Cumont's first volume (*Textes*, i. 132). The discovery is indeed an old one, going back to Henri Estienne's *Thesaurus*; and the great names of Benfey and Lagarde are connected with the working out of the Persian equivalents. In Cumont's note (ii. 6) we read that "certain indications appear to show that the adoption of the Persian Calendar in Cappadocia took place about 400 B.C."—during the Achæmenian period, anyhow, though it is "very difficult to determine more precisely the date at which they began to use in Asia Minor these foreign names of the months." In a separate note at the end of this book I attempt some discussion of the case which Prof. Cumont thus accepts as proved—for the argument is only presented by references to other literature,—and here I will assume its truth. It will be noticed at once that all six Amshaspands are in the list, which is sufficient proof that if the great Belgian savant is quoted in support of Darmesteter's paradoxical dating of the Gathas, it can only be for an attenuated fragment of the same. For of course Darmesteter's case rests on the assertion that the Amshaspands are ultimately due to Philo; and here is Cumont declaring that they not only existed but had been exported to Cappadocia nearly four centuries before Philo was born!

To enlarge further on Darmesteter's unlucky theory is, however, not my purpose here. How does Cumont's date for the adoption of the Persian Calendar in Cappadocia square with the evidence we have traced, showing that the Amshaspands were almost unknown in Western Iran until a period generations later than this? The first observation we make is that the date (which would bear bringing down towards the middle of the fourth century if we see other reasons) is in the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Now, as we see elsewhere (p. 77 f.), this king was the promoter of a new religious syncretism. If Darius I. attaches himself to Zarathushtra, and Xerxes represents mostly a relapse into Aryan nature-worship, Artaxerxes II. is emphatically the patron of the Magian movement. He is the first Achæmenian of whom we can say that the Later Avesta fairly represents his religion. Now the mere repetition of the deities of the Persian-Cappadocian Calendar is enough to show what has happened to the Amshaspands meanwhile. They are, in order of their months, the Fravashis, Asha Vahishta, Haurvatat, Tishtrya(?),[1] Ameretat, Khshathra Vairya, Mithra, Apām Napāt, Atar, Dathush (the Creator), Vohu Manah, Spenta Armaiti. The names are in their later form with epithets fixed and an integral part of the title. They are altogether out of order: note that the inseparable pair, Haurvatat and Ameretat, is divided, and the cult epithet of Mazdah occurs in the name of the tenth month. Then we find the six Zoroastrian angels accompanied by two others (Fire and the Creator) who would suit the Zoroastrian and the pre-reformation creed equally, and four who belong distinctly to the older Aryan faith. But the alien Anahita is absent, replaced seemingly by Apām Napāt, who stands next to Mithra: the Anahita Yasht is called *Abân*, by a survival of this name. Since after West's investigation we have reason to believe that Darius reformed the Calendar in a Zoroastrian direction, we might recognise that great king's acuteness in thus scattering the new names among the old. But we may be sure they never became popular with the meaning which Zarathushtra attached to them. It is safe to believe that "Desirable Dominion" meant for Persian nobles very much what "Empire" means to-day for the Jingo, and "Best Right" something not far away from "Might." Nor must we forget that the old *Sondergötter* of whom Zarathushtra availed himself, using very new and recondite interpretations of their significance, were ready to come out into the light. Aramaiti was still the Earth and Vohu Manah cattle. It is quite possible that the "images of Omanus" seen by Strabo in Cappadocia were very much like the Golden Calves. To this extent the names of the Amshaspands may well have been preserved in Magian syncretism, and propagated by the Persian grandees who set up their luxurious state in south-eastern Asia Minor and in Armenia. New names of months might be adopted by the common people, but they did not necessarily understand them any better than a modern cockney understands that July and August commemorate famous Romans of the past. And even so the

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[1] *Tīr*: see below, p. 435 f.

Amshaspands won very narrow recognition. It is not far from Cappadocia to Commagene. How much of their lore, or their very names, did Persian propagandists take to that country?

For this we of course interrogate a royal witness, in the well-known inscription of Antiochus I., of whom we hear first in 69 B.C. Dittenberger's description of the monument[1] tells us of lions and eagles sculptured on the smoothed eastern and western sides, with five human figures seated on thrones—Zeus Oromasdes in the middle, Mithra and Artagnes (*Vərəθraγna*) on the right, Commagene and King Antiochus [their Fravashis ?] on the left. There are other figures, much damaged; and we are told that Antiochus portrayed his ancestors, claiming descent on the father's side from the great Darius, and on the mother's from Alexander (!). This is an appropriate symbol of the syncretism he shows in his profession of faith, for such the inscription is mainly intended to be. He begins with the declaration that religion is the most abiding of all good things and the greatest joy, and he traces to it all his fortune and success. The phrase he uses here supplies a reason for referring to his witness at this point. "All through my life," he says, "I showed to all men that I regarded Holiness (τὴν ὁσιότητα) as a most trusted warden of my kingdom and an incomparable delight (τέρψιν ἀμίμητον)." Later on he says, "All that is holy is a light burden (κοῦφον ἔργον), but heavy are the woes that follow impiety (ἀσέβεια)." Can we say that he means Asha? We cannot pronounce dogmatically on the question: the mention would be appropriate enough, but no

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[1] *Orientis Græci Inscriptiones Selectæ,* i. 591 f.

Greek scholar, ignorant of Asha's existence, would suspect any foreign allusion in the words. And the Persian elements in the King's creed are clear enough. He says that he has set up his monument "as near as might be to the heavenly thrones (*οὐρανίων ἄγχιστα θρόνων*)," "for that the body of my outward form (*μορφῆς*), having lived in happiness unto old age, having sent my God-loved soul to the heavenly thrones of Zeus Oromasdes, shall sleep unto endless time." This last phrase has the suggestion of Zervan Akarana; but there is a closer equivalent later on (v.[112] f.), where he speaks of "men whom endless time (*χρόνος ἄπειρος*—in the former passage *αἰών*) shall set in the (royal) succession of this land in their own lot of life." There is a quasi-personal tone about the title which would suit the identification very well. A few lines later Antiochus points to the images: "Wherefore, as thou seest, I have set up these god-befitting images of Zeus Oromasdes and Apollo Mithras (who is) the Sun (and) Hermes,[1] and Artagnes[2] (who is) Herakles (and) Ares, and of my all-nurturing country Commagene." He then turns to remark that he had set up his own image in their company and in the same stone, "preserving a just counterfeit (*μίμημα* δίκαιον) of the immortal thought (φροντίς) which ofttimes stood visibly by me as a kindly helper in my kingly endeavours."[1] These remarkable words point distinctly to the Fravashi, and to the belief that it sometimes became visible as a man's "double."[2] The Fravashis, then, Mithra, Verethraghna, probably Zervan Akarana, and the "heroes" (who for Antiochus would be the "gods of the royal house" recognised in Achæmenian religion[3]), together of course with Ahura Mazdah, are the divinities to whom Antiochus offers such whole-hearted allegiance. There is no real Zoroastrianism here, but a religion not far from Mithraism as we know it a little later, with the unreformed Iranian nature-worship still only slightly contaminated with elements drawn from Semitic or other alien sources: it is significant that there is no mention of Anahita. In such a pantheon there was no room for Asha, and the tentative question with which this paragraph opened receives a negative answer. Antiochus owes much more to Hellas than to Zarathushtra, whose teaching had not yet established itself so far west.

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[1] An identification which is suggestive for the view taken of Mithra in that age and place. Dittenberger quotes Cumont, and remarks that Mithra and Hermes were alike *ψυχοπομποί*, and that the planet which the Persians assigned to Mithra the Greeks gave partly to Apollo and partly to Hermes. How far this suits the solar character of Mithra, by this time pretty generally established, I need not stay to ask. There is obviously not a little confusion here between Greek and Persian ideas.

[2] Dittenberger observes that the Greeks gave the planet Mars (in Persian Verethraghna) to Herakles or Ares.

The negative results which meet us when we try to trace the Amshaspands in the West, except in the Cappadocian Calendar and in rather doubtful forms like Strabo's Omanus and Anadatus, must not surprise us too much. These conceptions belong to the most esoteric side of Zarathushtra's lore, and there is really nothing strange in their absence even where a true Zarathushtrian doctrine has been absorbed. It is most probable that until the Magi popularised them in their own way, after an adaptation which preserved little beyond the name and the traditional association with departments—fire, cattle, metals, earth, water, and plants—they were never heard of except in cultured circles. We may perhaps trace them in the nomenclature of Persian royal and aristocratic families. Thus Artaxerxes—answering to an Avestan **Aša·χšaθra*, "one whose kingdom is according to Right"—combines two of the Amshaspand names, and the first of them has its meaning very much on the lines of Gathic thought: the frequency of Persian names in *Arta* is very suggestive. In the inscription on the grave of Darius, Weissbach restores the word [*V*]*aumaniša*, and suggests connexion with the words which in the Avestan appear as *vohu manah*.[1] Unfortunately the inscription is too fragmentary for us to get any connected sense. We cannot therefore be positive that we have a proper name derived from "Good Thought," or even a case of the name Good Thought itself. If we may trust the conjecture, we cannot miss the significance of the fact that the two words of the Gathas are fused into one, here and in Strabo's Cappadocian cult and (in the analogous case of the third Amshaspand) on the Indo-Scythian coins. This is, of course, obvious with the name Auramazda, and when Greek evidence is taken, with ’Αρειμάνιος, ’Ασμοδαῖος, and other names.[1] Söderblom has tried to discount this evidence by urging that the Gathas separate existing unities in the manner of learned poetry. But his parallel *Iovem patrem* from Plautus does not impress me—Plautus is not a hopeful source for learned archaism! And surely it is far more probable that free and non-technical designations, not yet crystallised into proper names, were in after generations compressed into set terms. Insistence on the Eastern origin of Zarathushtra's Reform, the esoteric character of the Amshaspands in their earliest conception, and the length of time (as evidenced by development of language) during which a drastic adaptation has been working, will remove all the difficulty which has been felt as to the absence of these spirits from extra-Avestan sources until a late period.

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[1] ἣ πολλάκις ἐμοὶ παράστατις ἐπιφανὴς εἰς βοήθειαν ἀγώνων βασιλικῶν εὐμενὴς ἑωρᾶτο.

[2] See Lecture VIII.

[3] See p. 274. Probably the same are meant when he distinguishes θεοί and δαίμονες.

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[1] *Die Keilinschriften am Grabe Darius Hystaspis*, p. 40. The Aryan noun *manas* had in Old Persian (cf. *Haχāmaniš*) passed into the *-is* declension. Weissbach notes the parallel in Sanskrit (*vasu* and *manas*), and makes it a derivative from a word for "wisdom": he ignores the Amshaspand.

On the Amshaspands in detail I have had something to say already, and shall have to add more.[2] The primacy among them belongs to *Aša*, even as late as the Haptanghaiti. Plutarch accurately translates ’Αλήθεια, for the fact that *Druj*, the Lie, is the antithesis of Asha from the first makes this the most outstanding feature. I have used "Right" as the word that covers best the very varying use of the name, which from Aryan times[3] denotes the right order of the world, things as the Creator meant them to be. If Philo really was thinking of the Amshaspands in his curious allegorising of the Cities of Refuge, and if Darmesteter rightly attaches Λόγος θεῖος to Vohumanah—whether as origin, or (as we should emphatically assert) as derivative or parallel,—we can only say that the comparison is not very happy, and that the Greek Logos comes quite as near to Asha as to Vohumanah in the Gathic system. Indeed, Darmesteter's identification would be a positive hindrance for his own theory, since the chief of his Δυνάμεις is distinctly second in the Gathas and only attains primacy in the Later Avesta. But the Powers of Philo have so little in common with the Amshaspands, after the Logos has been taken out, that we need only make a general reference. The priority of Asha over Vohumanah in the Gathas is not at all explicit. It may perhaps rest on the idea that Asha is more inclusive, representing Mazdah's action, creation, and law, and not only the "Thought" that inspires it. But *Vohumanah*—εὔνοια in Plutarch—is comprehensive enough. He is the Thought of God, and of every good man, and we shall see later (p. 171) that he is the very paradise that awaits all who conform to the will of God. He comes very near Mazdah's "Spirit," for once (*Ys* 33^{6}) we actually find "Good Spirit" replacing "Good Thought." *Xšaθra* (εὐνομία) represents Dominion as an essential attribute of God. At the end of *Ys* 33 we find Zarathushtra bringing Obedience and Dominion to Mazdah. The Prophet who teaches men to obey, and the "man of Asha" who spends his life in accumulating good words, thoughts, and deeds, are alike engaged in "bringing Mazdah the Dominion"; for the ultimate triumph of Mazdah over the Lie will be achieved by the preponderance of good works over evil at the great Reckoning. Khshathra represents accordingly the "far-off divine Event," but also its anticipations in time. He does not attain to the great Triad, Ahura Mazdah, Asha, Vohu Manah, which outshines all other conceptions in the Gathas;[1] but he stands out well above the other Ahuras. *Ârmaiti*—so the name is spelt in our MSS., but the scansion shows that it was tetrasyllabic, like its Sanskrit equivalent *aramati*—retains her Aryan connexion with the sacred earth.[2] I have ventured to suggest (*ERPP*, p. 63) that her very name may arise from a popular etymology of Aryan antiquity, so that she began as "Mother Earth" and took on her the idea of "right-thinking, piety," by confusion with another combination.[3] Plutarch calls her σοφία, but of course it will be remembered that Wisdom is a very practical virtue in Parsism from the first. So the connexion with the beneficent[4] Earth was easy to maintain.

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[1] See on this subject the Excursus, p. 422 f.

[2] See p. 293–300.

[3] Skt *ṛta* does not quite answer, for its Avestan equivalent is *ərəta*; but there are parallels for this difference in *Abstufung*.

A further characteristic of Aramaiti should be noted here. In my note on the Gathic verse, *Ys* 45^4, I have defended the rendering which makes Ahura Mazdah "the Father of the active Good Thought, and his daughter is Piety." That relationship becomes fixed in the Later Avesta, where also Atar is Mazdah's "son." Gunkel[1] brings Aramaiti thus into comparison with Athena as daughter of Zeus, Ishtar-Siduri, goddess of Wisdom, daughter of Anu, Sin, or Bel, with the Gnostic Sophia and the Wisdom of *Proverbs*. I mention it mainly by way of calling attention to the very trifling anthropomorphism involved by the Gathic phrase, which does not really go beyond Wordsworth's

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[1] See, for example, *Ys* 33^6, 30^9, and 29, with my notes.

[2] See on this p. 10 f. There is a very full study of Aramaiti by Prof. Carnoy in *Muséon*, n.s., xiii. 127 ff.

[3] I ought perhaps to repeat my suggestion here for convenience. Since ἔρα (ἔραζε, "earthwards") is an old word for Earth, *arā mātā* is a possible name (in nom.) for "Mother Earth," which may have been confused in the Aryan period with the word for "right thinking," the antitheses of which are found in Avestan (Gathic *pairimaiti*, *Ys* 32^3, "perversity," and *tarə̄maiti*, *Ys* 33^4, "heresy"). **Arā* disappeared in Aryan—the adjective *pṛthivī*, "broad," ejected its accompanying noun in the earliest period of Skt. But our *earth* survives to witness it, conflate perhaps with a distinct name *Nerthus*, the earth-deity in Tacitus.

[4] *Spənta*, see p. 145 f.

> Stern Daughter of the Voice of God,
> O Duty!

The use of the figure in Later Parsism is markedly more literal.

Some special questions arise as to the origin and functions of the inseparable pair who in later Parsism were assigned the last places in the Hexad: we have already seen that in the Gathas the line is not drawn. "Welfare and Immortality" are not so much attributes as gifts of Mazdah, sharing with Aramaiti the difference which thus sets them apart from the first three. It might almost be suggested that symmetry had something to do with the fixing of the Hexad; and if, as we suggest, the Magi were really responsible for it, the assumption would be quite in character. Late descriptions of the Amshaspands represent them sitting three on each side of Ahura at "heaven's high council-table." On one side are the three whose names are of neuter gender, regarded later as male;

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[1] *Religionsgeschichtliche Verständnis des N.T.*, 26.

on the other three abstractions with feminine names, naturally treated as goddesses. The distinction of sex is, as Diogenes saw,[1] altogether foreign to genuine Parsism, as is proved by the very fact that *ašəm*, *vohū manō* and *χšaθrəm* are neuter nouns. But there happens to be also a real distinction of nature, in that half these spirits represent what Mazdah is and the other half what he gives. It is, however, more than doubtful whether Zarathushtra himself would have allowed the distinction, any more than he would have sanctioned the rigid limitation of the number. He puts *Sraoša* side by side with X*šaθra*, as we saw above; and Aramaiti in one place (*Ys* 31⁴) forms a close pair with *Aši*, "Recompense," the two names appearing idiomatically in the dual as the last two Amshaspands constantly do. There is no real reason to suppose that a difference of kind was conceived. Putting aside, therefore, as irrelevant for primitive Parsism the question whether Welfare and Immortality should exclude other like spirits from the last places in a closed circle, we notice two points about their history. That they represent Water and Plants appears in the Gathas (*Ys* 51⁷), and we can see that Zarathushtra is preserving and adapting an old Aryan myth of the water of youth and the food of immortality. Prof. Jackson notes[2] that they are the heavenly counterparts of "strength and abiding" (*təvīšī utayūitī*, *Ys* 51⁷). Now Water and Plants are the special care of other genii, notably Anâhita and the Fravashis. I am inclined to think that the twin Amshaspands were intended to supersede the latter, who were very popular among the people to whom Zarathushtra preached, and that the unmistakably foreign Anahita came in from the other side to poach on their preserves at a later time. But these may not have been the only ancient divinities for whom Haurvatat and Ameretat were substitutes or rivals. The strongly marked twin-like character of the pair suggests that they may have replaced the Aryan Dioscuri, whose epithet *Nāsatyā* (of unknown meaning) survives on apparently Aryan ground at Boghaz-keui, and in the Later Avestan form many centuries later as the demon *Nā̊ŋhaiθya*.[1] Their functions do not strikingly recall the vivid figures of the Indian Açvins, except that they are physicians and deliverers, who stave off disease and danger. But all we know from other Indo-European mythology of the prominence of Dioscuric worship makes us expect to find in Parsism traces of a cultus once universal, and exceedingly prominent in the kindred Indian pantheon.[2]

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[1] *Proœm.* 6; see below, p. 413 f.

[2] *Grundriss,* ii. 638.

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[1] The complete loss of all consciousness of original meaning, combined with the lateness of the Avestan texts (*Vd* 10^9 19^{43}) which name this featureless demon in company with Indra and Saurva, make it at least possible that it has been reimported, and represents anti-Hindu polemic (cf. the Indian gods Indra and Çarva). Similar late polemic is probably to be found in the reference (*Yt* 13^{16}) to the heretic *Gaotəma*, who is best taken, I think, as Gautama the Buddha: see on this p. 28 f. Bartholomae does not give his reasons (*AirWb*, 481) for regarding this as improbable. The Bundahish (28^{10}) assigns "discontent" to *Nā̊ŋhaiθya* as his function, and has in the same passage provinces for Indra and Saurva, equally unoriginal, to all seeming.

[2] To complete the analogy, Castor and Polydeuces must have a sister Helena, as the Açvinau have Açvinī. Aramaiti would naturally fill this place. But I fear this is all too speculative. On the whole question of Twin-cultus see Dr J. Rendel Harris's works, *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* and *The Dioscuri in Christian Legend*.

Zarathushtra's solution of the problem of Evil, and his doctrine of the Future, I shall deal with at greater length in the next two Lectures; and a few details of the Gathic system may be left to be annotated in connexion with the translation that appears in the Appendix. One subject only I shall take up here before leaving the Gathas. How are we to classify Zarathushtra as between the two great categories into which men of religion naturally fall? Was he Prophet and Teacher, or was he Priest? Is the religion of the Gathas practical and ethical, or sacerdotal?

Now there is one passage in the Gathas where the preacher does call himself by the old Aryan name *zaotar* (Skt *hotar*), "priest." In *Ys* 33^6 (cited *Yt* 4^7) we read:

> I who as priest would learn through *Aša* the straight paths, would learn by the Best Spirit how to practise husbandry.

In the Later Avesta the *zaotar* is a chief priest whose special duty is chanting the Gathas. This is obviously the successor of the priest who in Iranian worship stood before the Fire chanting a θεογονίη or Yasht, in the classical description of Herodotus.[1] By the time of the historian's travels, the Magi had made themselves indispensable for this function; but there is no reason whatever for postulating a sacerdotal caste in Aryan times or in the days of Zarathushtra, as there was apparently in the Late Avestan period. The *āθravanō*[2] or "Fire-priests" do not appear at all in the Gathas, and there is a hint in the Haptanghaiti that they came from abroad.[1] They are of course the πύραιθοι of Strabo. The one suggestion of a caste connected with religion in the Gathas is the appearance of three classes (see *Ys* 32[1] and note), *airyaman*, χ^{v}*aētu*, and *vərəzə̄na*, which Bartholomae makes out to be severally priests, nobles, and husbandmen. In the Later Avesta we have a fourfold division—*āθravan*, *raθaēštar* ("charioteer"), *vāstrya fšuyant* ("herdsman"), *hūiti* ("artisan"): the name for "caste" was *pištra* (*Ys* 19[17]), which meant "colour," like the Indian *varṇa*, and suggests the presence of distinct races. The six tribes of the Medes (Herod. i. 101) are a parallel. Now we can hardly understand the Gathas on the assumption that Zarathushtra himself belonged to a separate and higher priestly caste. His enthusiasm for husbandry would make us put him with the lowest of the three, if we were free to choose. The question really is what functions we are to assign to the *airyaman*. The word is Aryan. In the Rigveda (Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, 45) Aryaman is named a hundred times and has the dignity of an *Âditya*; but he is "destitute of individual characteristics," and nearly always named with Mitra and Varuṇa. Prof. Macdonell says that in less than a dozen places the word means "comrade," much as Mitra means "friend," and this is apparently its meaning in the Gathas. Is there anything to prevent the "brotherhood" in question from being simply the fellowship of teacher and disciples who amid much detraction (*Ys* 33[4]) strive to spread their message through the community? The very fact that the other two castes are the same in Gathas and Later Avesta—for the "nobles" and the "charioteers" are obviously the same—makes it more striking that the place of the *āθravan* is taken in the Gathas by a class the name of which at any rate carries no sort of priestly function. That Zarathushtra is teacher and prophet is written large over every page of the Gathas. He is perpetually striving to persuade men of the truth of a great message, obedience to which will bring them everlasting life. He has a revelation, a mystery, which he offers to "him who knows": it is an esoteric doctrine which bigoted partisans of the old *daēvayasna* will not receive. Men have their free choice, though Aramaiti pleads with the wavering soul. He who has brought the message will be men's judge at the last, for he has given them a word of Truth and they spurn it at their peril. There is no room for sacerdotal functions as a really integral part of such a man's gospel; and of ritual or spells we hear as little as we expect to hear, after studying the life and work of religious reformers in other parts of the world. Ritual has its place, but it is not in the first fresh dawn of a religion that is going to live.[1]

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[1] See below, p. 395.

[2] The *name* of course is Aryan.

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[1] See p. 88. On priestly families in Indo-European times, see Schrader, in *ERE*, ii. 42 f.

I have not by any means exhausted the topics that may be, or even ought to be, discussed in a lecture upon the Prophet of Iran. But my limits do not permit of any attempt at completeness, and I have still to sketch the main lines of the Counter-reformations which are to be recognised as underlying the Later Avesta, as I have already tried to prove. The very possibility of such counter-reformation depends on the disappearance, very soon after the Prophet's death, of that passionate conviction which made him incapable of countenancing any concession to rival inferior creeds. Prof. Eduard Meyer[1] remarks on the accommodating character of Mazdeism, which could adopt foreign deities by the simple device of making them servants of Ahura Mazdah. He mentions Aramaic inscriptions in Cappadocia which show Bel recognising *Dîn Mazdayasniš* as his sister and wife. This accommodating temper, utterly foreign to the enthusiasm of Zarathushtra, must have been the national bent, to which the people reverted easily when the fiery personality was withdrawn. It was, however, this very power of adaptation which made it possible for the religion—even if only in forms widely differing from the original — to spread beyond the bounds of its early home. There was no nationalism connected with it, no suggestion that Ahura Mazdah was still what he had been at first, the "god of the Aryans" alone. Great Persian magnates who had estates in Armenia and Cappadocia took their religion into these districts. The inscription of Antiochus of Commagene shows with what energy many of these propagandists carried the faith.[2] But it was not the highly abstract and profound teaching of the Founder that went forth conquering and to conquer.

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[1] That Zarathushtra was afterwards assumed to be a Magus, and that his name, with a superlative suffix (*zaraθuštrōtəma*) became a term for "high priest," I regard as irrelevant. I have given reasons elsewhere (esp. p. 197 f.) for believing that the Magi adapted his system long after his day and claimed his name. This is obviously natural, and it is just the sort of question on which the assertions of later generations count for very little. See also p. 411.

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[1] *Enc. Brit.*^{11}, *s.v.* "Persia" (210A).

[2] The foregoing remarks are largely drawn from some excellent observations of E. Meyer, in *Gesch. d. Alt.*, iii. 128.

In the absence of enthusiasm for his deeper doctrines, never really understood, it was easy to keep his names and forms, and deny his spirit, unconsciously enough. Hence the two successive movements, one of mere relapse, the other of drastic innovation, which created the Later Avesta and transformed Zarathushtra's religion till it would have been hardly recognised by him. The mischief was only partially undone by the Sassanian reformers, who could not revive the Prophet's spirit for the multitude of clouds that had arisen to hide him.

The earliest among these movements is seen in the Gatha Haptanghaiti. Its identity of dialect shows that we cannot separate it far in period or in place from the Gathas proper. Its extraordinary difference in religious standpoint, with the fact that it is in prose, might point to its coming from a community distinct from that which received and preserved the Gathas themselves. It was not a community consciously alien from the Reform, for we actually find Zarathushtra installed as an object of worship.[1] If the passage where this appears is an original part of the text—and of course in a prose composition we have no resources for proving this—we naturally presume that we have to do with a period a generation or two after Zarathushtra's death, and a social stratum separated from the literary and presumably aristocratic traditions in which the verse Gathas arose. In such a community it was inevitable that the old Aryan nature-worship should remain almost unaltered. The already ancient cult of "the Wise Ahura," the special divinity of the aristocracy,[1] had been adopted by their feudal retainers; and the Prophet who had been so effectively patronised by the court was duly honoured as *yazata*, though perhaps the fact that he is named but once[2] illustrates the relatively small importance that he had attained in the popular esteem. We naturally compare with this the oft-discussed absence of Zarathushtra's name from the Inscriptions. The most characteristic creations of Zarathushtra, the Amshaspands, are before us, and they are collected into a definite community and distinguished by a corporate name. But, as we have seen, this is only an apparent conformity, which may very well cover a real return to an old Aryan use. Asha, whose name is conspicuously Aryan, is far the most prominent among the individual Amshaspands, of whom only the first four are named at all: whether Ox-Soul and Ox-Creator and Fire are meant to be included among the "Lords" we have no means of knowing. They are worshipped manifestly, as are the Waters, Fravashis, and Haoma. The Waters receive their old Aryan name of "wives" of the deity, being linked with the sacred Earth.[3] An interesting contact with the Inscriptions may be seen in *Ys* 37^1, where it is said of Ahura Mazdah that he

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[1] *Ys* 42^2, "we adore Mazdah and Zarathushtra." This answers to Later Avestan passages like *Yt* 13^{94}, where Zarathushtra is worshipped with *zaoθra* and *barəsman.*

> made the Cattle and the Right, made the Waters and the good Plants, made the Light and the Earth and all that is good.

The words have a ring decidedly like that of the recurrent *Lobgesang* of Darius to the "great god Auramazda,"

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[1] See above, pp. 32, 60.

[2] Wolff would make him implied in *Ys* 35^9.

[3] *Ys* 38^1.

> who made this earth, who made yon heaven, who made man, who made welfare for man, who set up Darius as king, one king of many, one lord of many.[1]

Zarathushtra had after all left behind him the emphasis that he most desired—the uniqueness of the Creator as the central feature of the faith. Darius preserved his system more perfectly than the framers of the Haptanghaiti, who compromised monotheism seriously, and never even named the powers of evil which came so prominently into the Gathas and the records of Behistan.

The characteristics of the Haptanghaiti are reproduced and emphasised in the older Yashts. Here the Aryan "Heavenly Ones" are back again in their original place, only formally subordinated to the supremacy of Ahura Mazdah. And even the supremacy itself seems grievously affected when Mazdah himself is said to have sacrificed to the *yazata* whose praises occupy the hymn, and implored his or her help. Anthropomorphism is complete. The Amshaspands, who in the Haptanghaiti were already male and female,[2] are definitely the children of Ahura,[3] just as the Waters were his wives. The details of this revived Aryan cultus will prompt some comments elsewhere.[4] Here it must suffice to note how the atmosphere of the Vedas is brought back, not in the Gathas, which come so near to the Vedic in language, but in the verse Yashts, whose very metre approximates to those of Indian poets more closely than the measures found in the Gathas.[1]

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[1] *Dar.NR* a^1, *al.*

[2] *Ys* 39^3, "die guten (Götter) und guten (Göttinnen)," as Wolff has it—the original has simply *bonos bonasque.* We must remember that the Gathic names are *neuter* and feminine respectively, and the latter accordingly no more represent female spirits than the former represent males: see above, p. 113 f.

[3] *Yt* 13^{82}.

[4] See p. 271 f.

The last stage in the syncretism is, on our theory, connected with the Magian name. It is not always possible to assign a given feature of later Parsism to the one side or the other of the reaction, but the general lines are clear enough. We are not yet ready for the analysis of Magian dualism, nor for that of the ritual which so largely depended upon it. Here I will only recall my remark that until the Sassanian revival the West only knew as much of real Zoroastrianism as the Magi chose to transmit. Having once decisively claimed the Prophet as one of themselves, the Magi followed on to make truly their own as much of his system as they were capable of apprehending. They preserved the Gathas and the Yashts, and composed the ritual parts of the Avesta. They do not seem to have learnt how to imitate the verse which they transmitted so well, and all their own additions seem to have been in prose. Our most notable Greek representations of Parsism, especially that in Plutarch, are of Magianism essentially. Zarathushtra's doctrine was kept in the East, just as his own vitality was fabled to have been kept in the waters of the eastern lake, till the time came for Saoshyant to be born.

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[1] On the whole subject of Avestan verse, see the chapter in *ERPP*: it has not seemed sufficiently relevant to my present purpose for me to repeat its substance here.

Even so the full system of the Prophet was known after the Sassanian age. But by that time the world was no longer ready to listen. Zarathushtra did not come "in the fullness of the time"—he came too early, and too late as well!

LECTURE IV

ZARATHUSHTRA'S DOCTRINE OF EVIL

Fravarāne Mazdayasno Zaraθuštriš Vīdaēvo Ahuraṯkaēšo.

"I declare myself a Mazdah-worshipper, a Zoroastrian, an enemy of the Daēvas, holding Ahura's Law."—OLDEST ZOROASTRIAN CREED.

FROM Zarathushtra's doctrine of God we pass on to his doctrine of Evil, which is an essential part of it, and the most conspicuous of his contributions to religious thought. I call it essential because it involves a limitation of God's omnipotence, even though it be only during a definite period of time. In his admirable article on Iranian Dualism in the latest volume of Dr Hastings' *Encyclopædia*,[1] Dr Casartelli very justly says that our calling the Parsi solution of the problem of Evil "dualistic" is mainly a matter of terms. He would himself retain the term on the ground that the Parsi Evil Spirit is independent, and can create. I had rejected it, since it seemed to me inconsistent with an optimist outlook on the future. Whatever view Parsism has taken as to the past history of the evil principle, it has always declared that its future is utter and final destruction. If we restrict ourselves to the origin of evil and its development during human history past and future, we may use the term dualism fairly enough, in Dr Casartelli's sense, for until the *Frašōkərəti* there is a power independent of God which God cannot destroy, sharing his peculiarly divine prerogative of creation.

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[1] *ERE*, v. 111 f.

But this Lecture is primarily concerned with Zarathushtra's doctrine of evil, and here I can see no evidence whatever to justify the imputation of dualism. We have already realised that Parsism as we have it must be distinguished in many important respects from the teaching of its Founder, as far as we have this in the Gathas. When we come to discuss Magianism we shall find that nothing is more characteristic of that system of thought than the "tendency towards . . . bilateral symmetry," as Dr Casartelli puts it: whether it is Iranian or not we will consider later on. I want to lay all possible stress on the importance of delineating Zarathushtra's doctrine of evil from the Gathas, and the Gathas alone. We shall find that unless we think ourselves justified in reading back from the Later Avesta and the Pahlavi classics, we have really no proof that the Founder himself originated many of the most conspicuous elements in Parsi dualism. He shares with his successors the confidence that "Good will be the final goal of ill." But the very name of Ahriman is due to a later application of an incidental epithet occurring once in the Gathas. The creative privilege of "the Lie," her independence of Mazdah, the co-eternity in the past of the "Bad Spirit" with the "Holy Spirit," and other crucial notions which later theology developed, cannot be proved from the Gathas. I do not feel at all sure that the Prophet himself, if confronted with accurately drawn pictures of the Evil Spirit, gathered from the New Testament and the Later Avesta respectively, might not have pointed to the first as in some important points nearer to his own view, except for the absence of any opening for regarding Good and Evil as "twins."

The rather unprofitable question as to originality is raised about Zarathushtra, as about all other great religious teachers. To judge from the language of some theorists in our midst, no new religious idea ever was invented: they were all implicit somehow in protoplasm at the creation, if such an archaic term may be used for brevity. I am not careful to defend the *Priorität* of Zarathushtra or of yet greater teachers, for the higher originality is generally found in one who can re-mint old gold and "make it current coin." I am content to accept the fact that before Zarathushtra began his own thinking he was familiar enough with the idea of a stream of tendency, not ourselves, making for unrighteousness. Iranian folk-religion, like most others, had plenty of hurtful spirits; and if Zarathushtra found the source of all evil in a spiritual power working havoc in the world and in the heart of man, he was only systematising a philosophy the germs of which were easily found. But in laying down man's duty in the face of this evil power he may claim credit as the pioneer of a most momentous revolution. In every other religion, outside Israel, there were demons to be propitiated by any device that terror could conceive. Zarathushtra from the first bade men "*resist* the devil." The Magi, as Plutarch tells us (p. 399 f. below), invoked "Hades and

Darkness" in a sunless place, with (*haoma-*)libations and the blood of a wolf. Mithraists dedicated offerings Deo Arimanio. But none dared to interpolate such an element in the Avesta. The faithful Zoroastrian has never had anything to do with Ahriman but to fight him and destroy his creation. It was a veritable emancipation for devil-ridden souls, ever cringing with fear before powers of darkness possessing vague but intensely real capacity for mischief.

We may return for a moment to the subject just referred to, and ask whether we may postulate the existence in unreformed Iranian religion of a conception of a god of darkness, capable of suggesting to Zarathushtra some lines for his portraiture, while no less supplying elements against which he would protest with all his power. Between Herodotus, Plutarch, and the Anahita Yasht I think we can answer the question in the affirmative. Plutarch, as we have seen, credits the Magi with an apotropaic ritual carried on in a sunless place and addressed to Hades and Darkness. The Magi in his time were priests of a very syncretistic religion, and such rites suited their antitheses entirely, whether they got the hint from an Aryan infernal power, or from the Babylonian Nergal, or from a devil of their own. That the last of these alternatives may be rejected is proved, I think, by a remarkable story in Herodotus (vii. 114). Amestris, wife of Xerxes, as we noted in Lecture II., buried alive fourteen[1] Persian children of high rank, to propitiate *τῷ ὑπὸ γῆν λεγομένῳ εἶναι θεῷ*. This we compare at once with the mention of Hades in Plutarch and elsewhere as the nearest Greek equivalent of Ahriman. Since, as we saw (p. 57), this could not possibly have been done by Magi, we naturally assume that it was Iranian, and that Xerxes and his wife, as might be expected, reverted to usages abhorred by the Prophet, whose doctrine the really religious Darius followed in the main. The Mithraic sacrifice will also derive from this chthonian rite, which has parallels enough in Indo-European religion. Now the Avesta itself gives indications of the existence of this heresy. In the Gathas even (*Ys* 31^{10}) we read of a teacher of evil who declares "the Ox and the Sun the worst things to behold with the eyes," who perverts the pious and desolates the pastures. Bartholomae sees here an allusion to nocturnal orgies of *daēvayasna*, associated with slaughter of cattle. The Mithraic *taurobolium* naturally suggests itself, though Prof. Cumont regards this as late in origin:[1] might it not after all have been based upon a really ancient usage? Then in *Yt* 5^{94} we have a very curious reference to "libations" brought by "*daēva*-worshipping Liars" (*drvantō daēvayasnåŋhō*) to Anâhita after sunset, which Anâhita declares will be received by Daēvas and not by her. Darmesteter compares *Vd* 7^{79}, where we read of a "forbidden libation offered in the twilight";[2] also *Nîrangistân* 48, condemning a libation to the Good Waters (the predecessors of

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[1] On *fourteen*, cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*^{3}, v. i. 32.

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[1] See his *Textes*, i. 334, n. 5. He regards it as ancient, but not in Mithraism. But he mentions (p. 335) the immolation of the mythic Ox, which might well suggest it.

[2] Darmesteter renders "in the dead of the night," which suits his own parallels badly. I correct from Wolff.

Anâhita) after sunset or before sunrise. All this I think is a heretical ritual, originating in Iran, and surviving in Mithraism, in the superstitions of Xerxes and others whose Zoroastrian orthodoxy was but skin-deep, and in practices adopted by the Magi, as congenial to their system. They threw it off later, when in the Sassanian revival a healthier doctrine came to the front, more directly dependent on the esoteric lore of Zarathushtra, as preserved by this same caste, which had in greater or less degree countenanced a less desirable practice.

There were not wanting other evil divinities in the Iranian world to which Zarathushtra came. As usual, they presided over special departments. There was "Bad Season" (*Dužyāirya*, O.P. *Dušiyār*, *dūšyārīy* in the Manichæan MS. from Turfan), who brought the farmer all he dreaded most. There was "Wrath" (*aēšma*, cf. *οἶμα*, *ira*), drunken rage, unless indeed he is a personification due to Zarathushtra himself, which is perhaps more likely. The serpent (*aži*, cf. Skt *ahi*, Gk. ἔχις) might have been developed; but the latent possibilities were left very much as were those of the figure in the third chapter of Genesis. A general name for dangerous spirits was also available in *būiti*, Skt *bhūta*, "ghost"—the word which Darmesteter during a temporary eclipse of the philological faculty wanted to compare with Buddha.[1] There were probably many more to choose from, and the fact enhances the significance of the choice that was made. The supremacy of Truth among the virtues was as conspicuous for the settled agriculturists of Eastern Iran as for Darius and his Persians in the West; and Zarathushtra was following the strongest element in the national character when he concentrated all evil into the figure of Falsehood, *Druj*, the antagonist of *Aša*, "Truth" or "Right." It is hardly realised as it should be that for Zarathushtra himself, as studied in his own Hymns, "the Lie" is beyond all comparison *the* name for the spirit of evil. *Drəgvant*, answering well to the phrase in the Apocalypse, "whosoever loveth and maketh a Lie," is the perpetual term for those who take the devil's side in human life. So conspicuous is this in the Gathas that I feel strongly inclined to make its very similar conspicuousness in Darius's Inscription a balancing argument in determining the great king's religion. For him as for Zarathushtra the Lie sums up all evil. A rebel against his royal authority —which was after all only that of a *de facto* monarch —"lies" by the mere act of rebellion, when there is admittedly no imposture about it. A spirit of disloyalty in a province is described by the same comprehensive noun. The Old Persian word is one that appears in the Avesta, though not commonly, being the same word as *druj*, but in a different declension.[1]

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[1] See *SBE*, iv.^{2} 209 n. Perhaps we need only accuse Darmesteter of taking rather too seriously an etymology out of the Bundahish.

One other possible ancestor of Zarathushtra's archdevil may be noticed on a suggestion of Tiele-

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[1] The cognate *druh* in Sanskrit retains hardly any trace of the meaning "perfidious," being generalised into "injurious," or (as a noun) "fiend" (fem.). The German *Betrug* and the derivatives *Traum, dream,* make the meaning "deceive" probable for the earliest stage; and the Iranian meaning is unambiguous. We must, however, note Prof. Schrader's reminder (*Reallex.*, p. 27) that the Old Norse *draugr*, Old English *dreág*, support the suggestion of "malignant spirit" as primary.

Söderblom, p. 374, where Ahriman's (Later Avestan) epithet *pouru-mahrka*, "full of death," is regarded as perhaps a survival from an old god of death, dwelling underground. This will naturally be the "Hades" with whom Plutarch equates Areimanios, the "god said to dwell under the earth," to whom the wife of Xerxes offered victims buried alive. (See p. 128 f.) He must belong to the unreformed Aryan religion: the Magi could not allow him to inhabit the sacred earth.

In one very remarkable passage of the Gathas Zarathushtra propounds his doctrine of the origin of evil. The thirtieth Yasna has the appearance of being a *Lehrgedicht*, a concentration into verse form of the Prophet's central doctrines for the purpose of retention in the memory. The third stanza of this Gatha is so crucial that I must quote it exactly, with the thankful preface that for once there is no serious divergence between our authorities as to its translation.[1]

> 3. Now the two primal Spirits, who revealed themselves in vision (?) as Twins, are what is Better and what is Bad in thought and word and action. And between these two the wise once chose aright, the foolish not so.
>
> 4. And when these twain spirits came together in the beginning, they established Life and Not-life, and that at the last the Worst Existence shall be to the liars (*drəgvatąm*), but the Best Thought to him that follows Right (*ašaonē*).

A Pahlavi treatise declares that Ormazd and

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[1] In *ERPP*, 93, I recorded Geldner's dissonance. But in his last writing on the subject (*Lesebuch*, 324) he accepts "Twins" for *yə̄mā*, which enables us to treat it as certain: its importance is manifest. That he still differs as to χᵛ*afnā* ("nach ihrem eigenen Wort") matters less.

Ahriman were once brothers in one womb.[1] The doctrine was specially associated with the sect of the Zervanites, who found the necessary parent in the concept of "Boundless Time."[2] There is nothing to prove that Zarathushtra wasted on metaphysics time which he needed for practical teaching; and he may be safely assumed to have meant only that Good and Evil were co-eternal in the past, or arose together "in the beginning" (*pouruyē*, cf. Skt *pūrva*, "former" or "first"). Evil is thus the antithesis, the counteraction of Good. Plutarch's description of the Evil Power creating ἀντίτεχνοι to the creations of the Good (p. 401 below), though primarily Magian in origin, is quite in accordance with the original conception of Zarathushtra. The doctrine that evil is essentially negative may certainly claim him as a first promulgator; but we must take the epithet as connoting the utmost activity. The evil spirit is simply the opposite of the good in every one of his functions, fighting against him and his followers perpetually, and striving only to ruin every creation. The name "*druj*-having" (*drəgvant*) is given to him in the stanza following those I have quoted, thus attaching him to the Druj in the same way as wicked men; and he is said to have chosen the doing of what is worst, just as the Holiest Spirit chose Right (Asha), truth and perfection.

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[1] See *Dînkart,* ix. 30^{4} (*SBE,* xxxvii. 242), where the saying is attributed to the demon Aresh, and expressly repudiated by the Avestan *Varštmânsar Nask,* according to the record of the Pahlavi. West refers to the Pahlavi on *Ys* 30^{3}, and compares the statement of the Armenian Eznik (Haug, *Essays,* p. 13).

[2] On the Zervanites see Söderblom, *La Vie Future,* p. 248. The subject lies far beyond our limits, for the date of the triumph of the sect is in the fifth century A.D. But the statement of Berosus that "Zerovanus" was an ancient king proves, as Bréal notes, the idea current as early as the fourth century B.C. Its presence in Mithraism also attests its antiquity. But Cumont observes (*Textes,* 20) that the Avestan traces of it are small. And in Zâd-sparam's Selections (*SBE,* v. 160) we have it expressly stated that in aid of the celestial sphere [Aûharmazd] produced the creature Time (zôrvân). This statement agrees with the spirit of the Avestan theology. Mithraism might make Kronos (*i.e.* Zervan) supreme; but for the true Avestan system, whether Zarathushtrian or Magian, Ahura must be first. It may be noted that long ere Zervan secured his temporary exaltation he had changed his original character. In Mithraism he was Κρόνος, presumably a misunderstanding of Χρόνος, to which he no longer answered. And in late Greek writers he appears as τύχη, which agrees with the strong fatalism that marked the heresy. See Dr L. H. Gray's article on "Fate" (Iranian) in *ERE,* v. 792.

It would follow reasonably from this that the evil spirit is the spirit of "the Lie," regarded as the primary evil power, and that in the same analogy the "Holy" or "Holiest Spirit" is the spirit of Ahura Mazdah. This last point, however, is not quite certain.[1] It seems best to accept the view excellently expressed by Geldner in *Enc. Brit.*^{11} xxviii. 1041: "The Wise Lord . . . is the primeval spiritual being, the All-father, who was existent before ever the world arose. . . . His guiding spirit is the Holy Spirit, which wills the good: yet it is not free, but restricted, in this temporal epoch, by its antagonist and own twin brother, the Evil Spirit. . . . In the Gathas the Good Spirit of Mazdah and the Evil Spirit are the two great opposing forces in the world, and Ormazd himself is to a certain extent placed above them both. Later the Holy Spirit is made directly equivalent to Ormazd."

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[1] Bartholomae's note (*AirWb,* 1139) should be cited: "They were conceived of as *twins,* who, remaining in everlasting strife with one another, created all that exists. The relation of the good (holy) spirit to Ahura Mazdah seems not quite clear. It appears that Zarathushtra's teaching is not devised on pure dualistic lines, but that it elevates over the two primeval and equipotent spirits of the strict dualism the divinity of Ahura Mazdah. In this way the holy spirit, where he is set in relation to Ahura Mazdah, becomes a ministering and intermediary spirit of Ahura Mazdah, like Asha, Vohu Manah, and the rest; and as a new antithesis there arises Ahura Mazdah and Angra Mainyu." There is an excellent statement on the subject by Geiger, cited with approval by Prof. Jackson in the *Grundriss,* ii. 648. I have given it in English in *ERPP,* 66 f. See also Casartelli's *Mazdayasnian Religion under the Sassanids* (Bombay, 1899), pp. 1–71: this work is most important for the period following that to which these Lectures are restricted.

Once in the Gathas we find an epithet used for the "Bad Spirit" which, though to all appearance merely casual, was destined to have a long history. In *Ys* 45^2 Zarathushtra declares:

> I will tell of the two spirits in the beginning of the world, the holier of whom spake thus to *the hostile*: "Neither our thoughts, nor our doctrines, nor our purposes, nor our convictions, nor our words, nor our works, nor our selves, nor our souls agree together."

The word *angra*, rendered "hostile"—or etymologically "fiend" — is not elsewhere applied to the Evil Spirit in the Gathas,[1] and it is used of human enemies or evil men: clearly it has not begun to be a title in any sense. There would be quite as much reason for isolating *Akō Mainyuš* as Zarathushtra's name for him, for "the Bad Spirit" also occurs once (*Ys* 32^5—*q.v.*), and there is another place (*Ys* 30^3, quoted above) where "the Bad" (neuter) stands in apposition. It seems extremely probable that Zarathushtra's successors took up this casual epithet and created the proper name of the Iranian evil spirit. Their choice may have been partly determined by a collocation found on Darius's Inscription, probably reflecting there an association already fixed. Darius tells us[1] that Mazdah blessed and advanced him "because I was not an enemy nor a deceiver" (*naiy arika naiy draujana āham*). The first word (=*ahri-ka*) is identical with the Gathic *angra* (Aryan **asrá*), with an adjective suffix added; the second is derived from the name of the archfiend, Drauga, "the Lie." If we are right in regarding Darius as the first really Zoroastrian king, we may take this passage as evidence that the two words were already related in the vocabulary of religion. Darius, perhaps, cannot be said to have used a phrase which we should translate "because I was not a follower of Ahriman and the Druj"; but he does not fall far short. When once the title was appropriated, it became a fixed and permanent name, entirely ousting the Druj from place of power, so that in the Later Avesta she becomes only an ordinary fiend. This crystallising process seems to me very clearly the work of the Magi, who needed a title that could claim

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[1] Prof. Jackson (*Grundriss*, ii. 650) says that in the Gathas "the name of the evil spirit, *mainyu*, with the epithet *angra*, occurs only three or four times." He gives as references *Ys* 45^2, 44^{12}, and as a general adjective 43^{15}, also dat. sing. fem. [or adverb] *angrayā*, 48^{10}. In 44^{12}, Bartholomae is right, I think, in making *angro* a human enemy: see however p. 137 n. The other two occurrences of the adjective could not possibly apply to Ahriman, so that the total is reduced to one after all. Reference should be made to Prof. Jackson's article "Ahriman" in *ERE*, i. 237.

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[1] *Bh* 4^{13}.

Zarathushtra's authority for a devil very different in many respects from his concept.[1]

But we must keep for the present to Zarathushtra himself, and see how he marshalled the hosts that ranged themselves for the great conflict, on the side of Right and of Wrong. He emphasises from the first that it was a matter of free choice. The stanza quoted above (*Ys* 30^3), which tells us of the Twin Spirits, closes with the statement that the understanding chose the one and those void of understanding the other. These adjectives (*hudåŋhō, duždåŋhō*) are used of the heavenly and infernal spirits as well as of men, but the latter are no doubt intended here. The antithesis of wisdom and folly is wholly ethical, as in the Sapiential Books of the Old Testament. After stating that those men who would please Ahura made the wise choice, the poet goes on to say that the *Daēva* chose "the Worst Thought" after taking counsel together, for infatuation came upon them. There is a clear remembrance here that the Daēva were once divine spirits, whose deliberate choice transferred them to the world of evil. One passage in *Ys* 32 may be specially recalled, to show how fresh and keen was the feeling that connected the Daēvas with their nomadic worshippers, true ancestors of the savage Kurds of to-day. Zarathushtra (l.^{3,4}) fiercely attacks them as "seed of Bad Thought, of the Lie, and of Arrogance," and their followers are as bad. They have "long been known by [their] deeds in the seventh *Karšvar* of the earth," the habitable abode of men:

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[1] Dr Casartelli writes to me thus (May 30, 1913):—"As regards Aṉgro-M. in the Gāthās, I am much impressed by *Ys* 44^{12}, with its curious *Aŋro-Aṉgro*, and its *jeu de mots*. As I take it, I read: 'Quis sanctus [inter illos] quibuscum loquor, quisve scelestus? Ad quem [adhaeret] Impius [Spiritus]? Vel ille-ne Malus [Spiritus ipse est] qui, mihi infensus, Tuas benedictiones impetit? Quomodo ille non-[sit]? Ipse [enim] mala cogitat [to keep the word-play, we should have to substitute 'spirat']'—*i.e.*, is not my opponent, who attacks thy teaching, 'the very devil himself,' as we might say? The play on *Aŋ̇rō* [Mainyus?] and *aŋ̇rō mainyetē* seems to suggest itself. The difference between *angrō* and *anrō* requires more elucidation. I fancy there is a good deal behind it all."

> For ye have brought it to pass that men who do the worst things shall be called "beloved of the Daēvas."

An old Vedic compound, *devą́juṣṭa* (Gathic *daēvōzušta*), is here suggestive of the manner in which the old gods fell from their high estate. It was the term used by these robber hordes of themselves as they commended their raids to heaven for the success they asked of their patrons there. No wonder their victims charged upon these divinities the wrongs their votaries inflicted.

The Daēva are of course by their name the Indo-European **deivōs*, known by this title from east to furthest west of our speech area.[1] A recent sensational discovery shows us the names of their chiefs, as worshipped by Aryans of some kind as far north as Cappadocia in the fourteenth century B.C. I deal with this matter elsewhere (p. 5–7); and here only observe that if the Mitanni inscription is surprisingly north of India, it is no less surprisingly west of Iran. We have no other Iranian evidence for Varuṇa; and the footing of the demons *Indra* and *Nåŋhaiθya* (*Nāsatyau* in Sanskrit, the "Heavenly Twins") in the Avesta is so late and uncertain that we suspected (p. 115) a reimportation, through anti-Hindu polemic, rather than survival. But the remaining name from Boghaz-keui is that of Mithra, and we do not need evidence that he was worshipped everywhere in Iran —except where Zarathushtra had his way! That Mithra was in Aryan times the twin of Varuṇa has been already explained (p. 61); and I have noted the question whether this does not mean that Ahura is the Pollux of these Dioscuri in Iran, and Mithra the mortal Castor. The total eclipse of the latter in the Gathas and Achæmenian Inscriptions, until his sudden reappearance under Artaxerxes Mnemon, is no accident. Tiele rightly declares[1] that Zarathushtra cannot have been unacquainted with him. With the suggestion that he was too warlike for the Prophet I quite agree; but I should not add "aristocratic," for Mazdah himself decidedly claims this adjective, as we have seen (p. 60). The fact seems to be that Mithra had two sides, answering to the character of different classes of worshippers. On one side he was, as we saw (p. 63 f.), pre-eminently the god of Compacts, an exceedingly ethical deity of whom Zarathushtra need not have been ashamed. When the now dominant Magi restored him, wisely recognising the fact that the people had never given up his cult, it was exclusively his nobler side that was preserved, as already pictured in the Yasht that bears his name. But Mithra was not only *Dius Fidius*. Whatever the origin of the duality, he was also on the way to the *Sol Invictus* of Mithraism, and in the character of a mighty warrior was adored by robber hordes who had no use for a god of good faith. It was in this capacity, I take it, that Zarathushtra knew him best. He was one of the divinities "for whose sake the Karapan and the Usij gave the cattle to violence."[1] No wonder, then, if Zarathushtra transferred to his shadowy Asha the patronage of Truth and Justice which Mithra seemed to have abjured under an "infatuation," to "rush off into violence" and take the part of the evil power.

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[1] Skt *devá*, Lat. *deus* and *dīvos*, Lith. *dẽvas*, Old Icel. (pl.) *tívar* (cf. *Tues*day), Old Ir. *dia*, etc. From a derivative adjective, with weakened root, which makes it equally derivable from **dy̦ēus* (Ζεύς *Dies*-piter, etc.), comes δῖος, Lat. *dīus*, Skt *divyá*. The unrelated θεός (orig. meaning "ghost") took on many of the functions of **deivos*. It may be observed in passing that δῖος *αἰθήρ* comes very near to Mithra.

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[1] *Religionsgesch.*, 241.

We may also bring in, I think, the powerful attraction of monotheism upon the Prophet's mind. The great Ahura of Wisdom, who had been enthroned perhaps for generations in his own aristocratic clan, seemed to leave no room for a second, not to speak of an equal: all functions and attributes of deity met within his personality, and other "Lords" were only a part of himself. Mithra held too great a place in the popular theology to be reduced to a mere attribute of Mazdah. He must therefore go. In no Gatha that the priests have preserved for us is Mithra named or hinted at. If even a fairly definite allusion had occurred, like one or two stern references to the drunkenness which hurled the followers of another

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[1] *Ys* 44^{20}. *Karapan* (akin to Skt *kalpa*, "rite") is a teacher or priest hostile to the Mazdayasna. *Usij* (Skt *uçij*) seems to have meant nearly the same. Both names, associated inseparably with the *deva-daēva* cultus, have shared its degeneration.

daiva, Haoma, against Zarathushtra's long-suffering agriculturists, we may well doubt whether the hymn containing it would have kept its place in the *yasna* of a later day. But I cannot resist the conclusion that Mithra does come under the Prophet's ban, as a member of the Iranian pantheon which he dethroned because it had proved itself ethically unequal to the demand his own conscience made upon the conception of God.[1]

In this way, we may suppose, the cleavage between *Mazdayasna* and *daēvayasna* came into being. The Gathas are full of the signs of a great conflict. Chieftains and priests or teachers are named who vehemently flung themselves against the heresy that thus outraged the old gods. A time of failure and persecution leaves its record in the despairing cry of *Ys* 46. Neither high nor low will own the

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[1] I ought to point out that my view of Mithra in Zarathushtra's thought goes very little beyond that of our two leading German Iranists. Geldner says (*Enc. Brit.*^{11} xxviii. 1041): "Other powers of light, such as Mitra the god of day (Iranian *Mithra*), survived unforgotten in popular belief till the later system incorporated them in the angelic body. The authentic doctrine of the Gāthās had no room either for the cult of Mithra or for that of the Haoma." Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 1185) says the same: "Ich nehme an, dass M. in der streng*zaraθuštr*ischen Lehre als Gottheit nicht anerkannt war, ebenso wenig wie z. B. *Haoma*. Da aber der Glaube an M. im Volke zu fest wurzelte, waren die Priester späterhin genötigt, seine Verehrung zuzulassen." Mithra, then, did not belong to the *Mazdayasna*: must he not fall to the *daēvayasna*? Or are we to father on Zarathushtra the system described by Plutarch (p. 399, below), by which Mithra becomes an "intermediary" (μεσίτης) between Light and Darkness, dwelling as it were in the *Hamistakân* limbo? I think my alternative is simpler, and its difficulty is reduced by recognising a better and a baser side in the conception of Mithra. Imagine Zarathushtra assisting at a *taurobolium*!

Prophet, and the rulers of the land follow the Lie: he has but few cattle and few folk. But at last the tide turned with the conversion of Vishtaspa and his nobles, and Zarathushtra can concentrate on his missionary work among the misguided people who would not accept the Reform. His triumph within his own lifetime was probably limited to aristocratic circles, unless we may believe that he won over the farmers and graziers in whose interests he spoke so constantly. "The ruder *daēva*-cult [held] its ground among the uncivilised nomad tribes," says Geldner; and as the Yashts abundantly show, the divinities included in it were soon installed as angels in the Mazdayasna, under sanction of Zarathushtra's authority, and with nothing sacrificed except their collective name. So hard is it to reform a religion! The gods of polytheism may be cast down to hell; but they need only change their designation to be back in heaven again, with a new colleague in the very Prophet who had protested so strenuously in his lifetime that God is One!

From the doctrine of spiritual powers that originate and perpetuate evil we turn in due course to ask what Zarathushtra understood evil to be. Naturally "the Lie" came first. False and degrading views of God, and of what God demands from man, were to his profound and yet intensely practical mind the darkest of sins, because of what they produced. A religion that made Truth its centre could not be content with requirements touching only the externals of life. The triad of Thought, Word, Deed is perpetual in the Gathas, and holds its own throughout the history of Zoroastrianism. Darmesteter (*OA*

p. 8 ff.) insisted upon the close parallelism between the Avestan triad (*humata, hūχta, hvaršta*) and three Vedic terms (*sumati, sūkta, sukr̥ta*), two of which are verbally identical[1] and all identical in literal meaning, "good thought, good word, good deed." Now the Vedic words are, as Darmesteter goes on to show, purely ceremonial: they mean respectively prayer, hymn, and sacrifice. He argues that in the prehistoric Aryan their equivalents—which were, however, not brought into close relation outside the Iranian area—had a similar liturgical meaning and retained it in the Avesta. If it were not for the Gathas, this would be fairly plausible: it is at least not incongruous in the later Avesta. But the whole atmosphere of their author's thought seems alien to any such development. It is the association of the three that makes them so important, and this is admittedly Iranian, and may be safely set down to Zarathushtra, in whose use of the triad there is absolutely nothing to suggest that it has hardened into mere ritual. What are we to make of the antithetic triad of ill thoughts, ill words, ill deeds, or the neutral with no qualification (*manah, vacah, šyaoθna*)? We must follow the simple and obvious interpretation, and note that Zarathushtra made good and evil alike to be functions of the three parts of human life. Right thoughts of God and duty, right words to comrades in the faith, right actions, which meant mostly the zealous performance of a farmer's varied work—such were the virtues which were destined to give the follower of Asha a happy passage over the Bridge of Doom into the House of Song. And even so the guilt of heresy, lying, or cruel words to the faithful, deeds of oppression or lust or blood, weighted the scale against the soul at judgement.

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[1] Though for this purpose it is not indifferent that *sumati* and *humata* are in distinct declensions.

I have let fall a phrase the expansion of which belongs to my next Lecture; but there is an application of it which is in place here. What provision does Zarathushtra make for the annulling of sin? The answer appears to be that there is none, except the piling up of a credit balance of good thoughts, words, and actions. If a sinner turns from his evil way and does what is just and right, he shall save his soul alive—*if* he can crowd into the rest of his life merit enough to outweigh his sin.[1] And if a righteous man falls into evil ways, his future will depend on the time he spends in accumulating liabilities. Zarathushtra's practical mind was so concentrated on the supreme importance of securing right conduct that he did not discover the superior importance of character as the fount of conduct. But the fact that we can detect shortcomings in his system will not blind us to the immense step he took when he taught that God is pleased not by futile offerings but by practical benevolence and a life unspotted by the world.

Zarathushtra's ideals in ethics and religion can be illustrated by an examination of the two adjectives which everywhere sum up all that is good. The epithet which belongs peculiarly to Mazdah and his associate spirits is *spənta*, usually rendered "holy," and often found in comparative and superlative degree (*spanyah, spə̄ništa*). It is found in the Gathas applied to Mazdah himself, to his Spirit, to Aramaiti, and to pious men. In the Haptanghaiti first appears the specific title "holy immortals" (*aməša spənta*), which became the ordinary name of the Six Spirits of Mazdah. The exact connotation of *spənta* has been a subject of debate. Its historical identity with the Lithuanian *szveñtas*, "holy," cannot be questioned, nor the relation of them both to Gothic *hunsl*, "sacrifice," Old English *húsel* (Shakespeare's *unhouseled*). But there is believed to be some ground from Parsi tradition for regarding "beneficent" as nearer the meaning in the Avesta. It may have arisen from association with another verb meaning "to benefit,"[1] which in its present stem sounds very much like it: there is actually a Gathic verse (*Ys* 51^{21}, see p. 387) where we find *spənto . . . ašəm spə̄nvat̰*, "a holy man . . . advances Right." Bartholomae, who stoutly defends "holy," regards this as an intentional paronomasia. I should prefer to think of a popular etymology helping to colour the sense of the word. But, even apart from this, the tendency of thought was strong enough to make the idea of ritual holiness or purity pass quickly out of sight in favour of the practical and ethical connotation.[2] The antithesis of *spənta* is *angra* in the notable verse already quoted; and Bartholomae, whom we find inventing a new word on occasion to improve an antithesis,[3] ought to appreciate our argument that "holier" and "hostile" are not sufficiently in the same plane. His objection (*AirWb*, 1621) largely rests on the assumption that we cannot accept the meaning "beneficent" for the Avestan word without cutting it off from its cognates in Lithuanian, Slavonic, and Germanic. I do not see that the consequence is necessary: we have only to suppose the connotation of an Iranian word for "holy" altered towards "beneficent," partly by popular etymology, and partly by the practical bent of Zarathushtra's mind and teaching.

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[1] The similar procedure in Persian jurisprudence should be recalled: a man accused of a crime was (at least in theory) judged by his whole record, and if his merits outweighed his crime he was acquitted. See Herodotus i. 137 (p. 397 below).

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[1] *Sav*, whence the future participle *saošyant*.

[2] Dr Casartelli compares the development of a moral meaning in French *sage*, originally only "one who knows."

[3] See *Ys* 30^4, below (p. 349 f.).

I have already dealt with the central conception of Asha, "Right," and therefore may only mention here the fact that a good man is pre-eminently described as *ašavan*, "one who has Asha." The epithet is used of the heavenly world as well. The man after Zarathushtra's heart is he who holds Truth in thought and word and deed, the man of right belief, right speech, and right action, in opposition to the "man of the Lie." The title is on the same lines as those just suggested for "holiness." For all the profundity of Zarathushtra's thinking—and it is perhaps mainly this which has made it hard for a few great scholars to put his date back as far as seems necessary—he was intensely alive to the practical realities of life; and there was a singular absence of the mystical element about his teaching. A little more of it might perhaps have helped his religion to secure a much larger part in human history.

A more conspicuous absence is that of asceticism, which cuts him off strikingly from spiritual kinship with India—where, by the way, we may well believe that our Aryan blood was not responsible for a phenomenon safely to be credited to the indigenous population. Zarathushtra never dreamed of any merit in celibacy. One of his Gathas celebrates the wedding of his daughter, and he was himself married more than once. The Vendidad was quite in his spirit when it declared (4^{47} f.) that the married is far above the celibate, the man with children above him who has none, the man who eats meat above him who fasts. We are told how the Sassanian king Yazdgard was indignant at the contrast between the sanity of Parsism and the morbid tendencies of a Christianity which had largely forgotten the Gospels.[1] No speculative Gnosticism in Zarathushtra's dogmatics taught the inherent evil of matter. This is the more significant in that, as Prof. Söderblom well points out,[2] there is a strongly marked dualism of matter and spirit visible throughout the Avesta. In the Gathas we have "this life here of body and that of thought" (*Ys* 43^{3}); and the antithesis continues through the whole series of Parsi scriptures. But we find that the division of the world between good and evil cuts right across the other division. In the Yashts we read of "spiritual and corporeal *yazata*"; and we find that "Azhi Dahâka is in the corporeal world the representative of Angra Mainyu who is by nature *mainyava*, 'spiritual.'"[3] So in the Vendidad (8^{31}) we find the question asked:

> Who is absolutely a *daēva*? Who is before death a *daēva*? Who changes after death into a spiritual *daēva*?

(The answer is the human being who has practised unnatural vice.) The contrast between this and the Greek dualism, with its tendency to make the two categories coincide, and the Judaic antithesis of the present and the future, is of great importance when we examine the relations between these independent systems of thought. Zarathushtra's position here is, of course, most important for his fixing of the rules of conduct, as we saw just now. Every creature of the Wise Lord was good, and nothing to be rejected: that alone was evil which was created by his foe.

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[1] See Darmesteter, *SBE*, iv.[2] 46 n. On the strong anti-ascetic tendency in all ages of Parsism see Prof. Söderblom's excellent article in *ERE*, ii. 105 f.

[2] *Les Fravashis*, p. 60 f.

[3] Söderblom, *op. cit.*, 61; see references in his notes.

I have used the word "dualism," though, as we saw above (p. 125 f.), it is not strictly applicable to Zarathushtra's Doctrine of Evil. The optimist outlook which assured men of the ultimate triumph of Good will be the chief subject of the next Lecture. Meanwhile we have to go back to the beginning of things, and ask how Sin entered the world, bringing death and all our woe. One all too brief verse in the Gathas tells us of the Fall. It would seem that here Zarathushtra made use of an old Iranian folk-story, adapting it to his own doctrinal purpose, much as the author of the third chapter of Genesis is usually supposed to have done. In *Ys* 32[8] Zarathushtra says:

> To these sinners belonged, 'tis said, Yima also, son of Vîvahvant, who, desiring to satisfy mortals, gave our people portions of beef to eat.

Three stanzas before this the Daevas are said to have "defrauded men of good life and immortality." Yima, the Indian Yama, seems to have been in the Aryan period the first man, though in the sagas of later Parsism he was apparently deprived of this primacy. His own name probably means "twin," and he is a "son of the sky," as twins often are in folklore; for his father's name ("shining abroad") is clearly a cult-epithet of the bright sky. To render his subjects immortal he gave them to eat forbidden food, being deceived by the Daevas. Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 1866) quotes Pahlavi tradition that Yima made them immortal during his reign by giving them flesh. If that is an independent form of an old Iranian story, Zarathushtra has significantly brought in a moral judgement against an act not reprobated in the myth that came to him. To snatch immortality before Mazdah's own good time was sin. This is a very striking development. It is noteworthy that Firdausi makes Yima's sin consist in his pretending to be a god. The connexion of this grasping at immortality with the eating of forbidden food suggests a reference to the belief that at the Regeneration Mithra is to make men immortal by giving them to eat the fat of the primeval Ox or Cow from whose slain body, according to the Aryan myths adopted by Mithraism, mankind was first created. The Gathic stanzas imply seemingly that the act was one of sinful presumption, inspired by the Daevas—and especially by Mithra himself, if my view of him is justified—and that the demons who tempted him to the act defrauded men of its expected consequence. The Later Avesta, which makes Yima's sin consist in yielding to lies, describes his punishment as the loss of the Kingly Glory. In its three forms—those of the priest, the warrior, and the labourer—it successively fled from him (*Yt* 19^{34} ff.) in the form of a bird.

When he saw the Glory vanish,
Yima Khshaeta, noble shepherd,
Rushed he round distraught, and smitten
By his foes on earth he laid him.

He became a wanderer on the face of the earth, and was at last sawn asunder by his wicked brother Spityura. The relations between this Fall-story and that in Genesis will occupy our attention later. It is unfortunate that we have so brief and obscure accounts of a doctrine which to all appearance had high ethical value.[1]

We must pass on to deal rather succinctly with the doctrine of evil found in the Later Avesta, and the ethics resulting from it. The purely Iranian stratum contributes relatively little. Prof. Otto Schrader well remarks[2] that the "heavenly ones" of Indo-European religion had less to do with morality than the ancestor spirits. They were the *Sondergötter* of spheres far less concerned with human action than were the spirits of men's ancestors that always hovered within range. We are prepared to believe that the *deva-daēva* worship was on a lower plane morally than that of the *asura-ahura*, which originated in the ancestor cult; and, as we have seen, it is essentially the *daēvayasna* that inspires the Yashts, though the name has departed from the *yazata* who are honoured there. The one conspicuous exception to the rule is Mithra. The complex question of the origin and development of this great *yazata* is discussed elsewhere.[3] Here I will only point out that the higher ethical features of Mithra have been collected in the Mithra Yasht so as to present a divinity who might be worshipped even by those who had to a large extent absorbed Zarathushtra's teaching. His ethical nobility may even have helped the return of his associates, none of whom, however, can be said to share it to any large extent. Mithra stands for Truth and compact-keeping between men. This in the Gathas is in the province of Asha; but we can hardly wonder that so shadowy an abstraction was ousted by a splendid figure like Mithra, who satisfied the craving of humanity for a god that could come within man's sphere. The invincible, unsleeping divinity, whom none can outwit or escape, will crush the man who "breaks a compact" or "tries to deceive Mithra":—both these expressions meet in the original *miθrō-druj*, which we may spell with large or small initial as we please, since *miθra* is a "compact" as well as the god who protects it. This is an element quite in the Gathic spirit, heightening our suspicion that in the Mithra cult of the Avesta the Iranian priests—who were not yet the Magi—deliberately re-minted the gold there was in the old worship, in strong and intentional opposition to that crude and barbaric mythology which was afterwards to develop into Mithraism as we know it. But we must postpone speculation. It suffices here to note that the universal duty of Truth covers the very heretic—an ethical advance even on the Gathas. The hymn opens with a fine stanza which I may repeat here:[1]—

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[1] There are some interesting notes in Darmesteter, *LeZA,* ii. 624. He cites the self-glorification of Yima in the Shahnameh, and he gives references for a Talmudic adaptation of the story for King Solomon.

[2] *ERE,* ii., art. "Aryan Religion"—noted above, p. 74.

[3] See p. 62–67.

Spitama, break not the promise[2]
Made with sinner, made with faithful
Comrade in thy Law, for Mithra
Stands for sinner, stands for faithful.

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[1] From *ERPP*, 137, where note other extracts from *Yt* 10.

[2] *Miθrəm.*

The contributions of the Magian stratum to the regulation of Parsi conduct are very abundant, but they cannot be said to add much of any value to the ethics of the Gathas, while they unmistakably do not a little to spoil their high ideal. As so often happens when the prophets of a religion give place to priests, the outward and ritual side of it is exaggerated till all perspective is lost. We have in the Vendidad passage after passage where sins are catalogued with their appropriate penalties, and we marvel at the triviality of those that get the hardest measure. It is a most deadly thing if a man who cuts his hair or nails does not properly dispose of the cuttings or parings.[1] To kill a water-dog (otter) deserves ten thousand stripes, apparently repeated with two instruments, though the point is hardly of practical moment; and if the sinner survives he is to offer ten thousand libations, kill ten thousand land-frogs, and do sundry other acts of righteousness which would absorb quite a large proportion of his time. Offences against ritual and against moral purity are treated as of about equal seriousness. Against this we have the fact that, in however vague and onesided a way, the makers of the Vendidad did realise the possibility of repentance, atonement, and remission. Dastur Dhalla's account of the Parsi provision for expiation and atonement[2] shows clearly enough that the very idea of it does not belong to the "Early Zoroastrianism" with which I am concerned: it starts with the latest Avestan texts and only becomes systematic in Sassanian Parsism.[1] As elsewhere stated (p. 144), the only remedy for sins was overweighting them with merit. The Magian insistence on ritual purity included the stern denunciation of most forms of sexual vice, though we naturally take their emphasis on the next-of-kin marriage as a serious offset. They inculcated industry with excellent decisiveness. The demon of Sloth, called by the expressive name "Going-to-be,"[2] is to be vigorously abjured when she keeps men abed in the morning. Cruelty to animals of Ahura's creation is denounced through a whole gamut of possible variations. Alms-giving to the faithful is a supremely great virtue, as Parsis have well shown in practice to this day. It is a pity that so many good things should be overweighted and pushed out of sight by tiresome and foolish ritual, sometimes nothing less than disgusting — that prayer should harden into mechanical repetition of formulæ—that the Gathas themselves, still chanted in a dialect obsolete for ages, should have sunk into mere spells, the exact pronunciation of their words achieving what their author sought by pure life and diligence in an honourable calling. But, after all, it is the line on which all religions begin the downward way, and Parsism never lost the upward look and the striving for better things.

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[1] A very interesting and primitive tabu, for which *cf.* J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough* ^{3}, i. 57, etc. These cuttings were capable of being used against their former owner so as to cause him grievous harm.

[2] *ERE*, v. 664–6.

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[1] A hint of pardon in another life may be seen in *Ys* 51[4]: see note there.

[2] *Būšyąsta,* derived from the future participle of the verb "to be."

LECTURE V

THE LAST THINGS

> Each man's work shall be made manifest ; for the Day shall declare it, because it is revealed in Fire. And the Fire itself shall prove each man's work of what sort it is.
> PAUL.

THE later stages of thought in Israel before the rise of Christianity were before all things characterised by the growth of apocalyptic. The line of distinction between apocalypse and prophecy is fairly definite. Prophecy is concerned with the will of God for the present and the immediate future. In apocalypse the future contemplated belongs to another order. This present world inspires too little hope for the kindling of high religious enthusiasm ; and the faith of men who fervently believe in the omnipotence and the perfect justice of God comforts itself by the assurance of a theodicy beyond the veil that only death can draw aside. Israel's, however, was not the earliest literature to develop apocalyptic. Without attempting to discuss any views as to the actual contact of two systems of thought and the influence of one upon the other, we may note the fact that centuries before the earliest Jewish writings of this kind Zarathushtra was expressing in difficult but quite unmistakable language the conceptions I have described. Pictorial representation of a future soon to be realised, though not in this world, supplied for him constantly the inspiration of his appeal to men that they should choose the Right and resist the Lie, for so it would be well with them when at last the justice of God won its final triumph.

For thus we must begin, linking on the subject of this Lecture with the last. I showed that if Zarathushtra's doctrine of evil is fairly called dualistic at all, it is only so for the present æon: when time has run its appointed course the powers of darkness will be broken, and broken for ever. "The Kingdom' will come, and the omnipotence of Right will be established, no more to be challenged. We should note, however, that the reward of righteousness is not put off wholly to the other side of death. There is a quaint stanza in which the Prophet asks Ahura whether in this life he will attain the reward, "ten mares, a stallion, and a camel," besides Salvation and Immortality in the life to come. For, as he goes on to declare, a man who refuses to give a promised reward to one who has earned it will merit punishment here, as well as hereafter (*Ys* 44[18]). Similarly he promises (*Ys* 46[19]) a pair of cows in calf to him who deserves the Future Life. We may probably also interpret on the same line the declaration in *Ys* 34[14] that the reward of "the wisdom that exalts communities" shall be given by the Ahuras "to the bodily life" of the pastoral folk. But the grim facts of this world drove Zarathushtra to rely mainly on the Future, however wistfully he may pray for some earnest of that Future here and now. Nothing but a great theodicy, to come in God's good time, will adequately compensate the peaceful and pious herdsman for all that he has to suffer in the present from savage raids of *daēvayasna*. We may take it as fairly clear that the line along which Zarathushtra came to his conception of a better world was that of a powerful conviction of the justice of God. With "Right" at the centre of his doctrine of the Divine, he could not be content with a world in which Wrong seemed for ever on the throne. God is "Lord" and God is "Wise," omnipotent and omniscient, and He can never be foiled at the last so that the Right Order succumbs to "the Lie." Hence, with conditions of suffering and wrong all round him, Zarathushtra is impelled to moralise the conditions of another world, and teach that there the balance will be redressed, the righteous made happy at last, and the violent man finally destroyed.

I must recur in my last Lecture to the importance of recognising the forces which seem to have led the Iranian Prophet to his picture of justice triumphant in another world—earliest of all teachers of mankind to bear this witness of God. For the present I must keep to the beaten track, and delineate the details of his eschatological system. The hope of the good man is concentrated essentially on the coming of the Kingdom (*χšaθra*), which like the other members of the great Hexad is a part of the very being of God. The epithet *vairya*, "to be desired," which became a fixed element in the later name of this Amshaspand, crystallises appropriately the attitude of Zarathushtra and his faithful followers towards the great consummation upon which all their longing was fixed. According to Prof. Jackson's highly probable conjecture, the special association of the "Kingdom" with metals arose from the *ayah χšusta*, the flood of molten metal which is to be poured forth at the last. The righteous—so the later apocalyptists put it—would pass through the flood as through warm milk, but Ahriman and all who were "of his portion"[1] would be consumed. It does not appear, however, that in Zarathushtra's own thought the annihilation of evil and evil beings was contemplated. For him the "House of the Lie" is to be the permanent abode of those who choose here to follow the Lie. It is only in later Parsism that, after the purifying flood has passed through the world,

Hell itself will pass away,
And leave her dolorous mansions to the peering day.

Of course we might legitimately conjecture that here the later eschatology has borrowed from lost Gathas. Zarathushtra is not in the least bound to have been rigidly consistent—no eschatological system ever was or could be consistent and logical. He may very easily have portrayed at one time the wicked destroyed by the molten flood, and the dreary realm of Ahriman purified and added to the Good Creation; and at another, without any real inconsistency, have declared that the punishment of sin would be eternal. In the nature of things both annihilation and eternal punishment would be symbols of profound truths on which the emphasis is laid successively without an attempt to reconcile them. And so would be the third conceivable hypothesis, that evil only was destroyed and evil beings saved as through fire. But how far the

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[1] *Wisdom* 2^{24}. See *Bd* 30^{20} (*SBE*, v. 126).

Prophet himself wrestled with this problem we have no material for deciding.[1]

Before we turn to the future of the individual, we must deal with Zarathushtra's picture of the world as it shall be. The "Consummation"[2] of the Gathas involves a "Renovation of the World,"[3] a divine event towards which the whole creation is moving. It is accomplished by the present labours of "those that will deliver," the *saošyantō.*[4] In the Gathas these are simply Zarathushtra himself and his fellow-workers, whom the Prophet's faith pictures as assuredly leading on an immediate regeneration. The superb conviction with which he anticipates that very soon he himself will attend his faithful followers into the presence of God is characteristic of his whole tone in proclaiming future destiny. Violence and wrong may hold carnival around him now; but never does his eye lose the vision of a new heaven and a new earth in which Right shall dwell for evermore. It only enhances the picture when we note the very human wistfulness with which he asks whether the men of Right will not win their victory before then (*Ys* 48^{2}). In any case the time is not to be long. He hears Mazdah bid him speed his work, for soon the end is coming and the awards of Right will be dealt out to good men and evil (*Ys* 43^{12}).

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[1] It is on these lines that I should deal with Prof. Söderblom's argument (*La Vie Future,* p. 243), that the idea of the *ayah χšusta,* as an old Indo-European mythus paralleled in Norse and Greek saga, implies the purification and renewal of the world, so that there is no room for an endless hell. But, unless I am very much astray in my whole argument, Zarathushtra was little disposed to bind himself to ancient mythology. He took it over when it offered symbolism he could use, as we see from the case of the Bridge and the weighing of souls. But he was always ready to give it a totally new meaning. It is thus that I understand the figure of *Cinvant,* as Zarathushtra's own addition to the old idea of the Bridge. Something like this, I imagine, took place with the "Molten Metal." Zarathushtra kept the idea, but there was no necessity for him to interpret the myth in any stereotyped fashion. He is so positive and so often insistent on the everlasting torment of the *drəgvatō,* that the mere fact of an earlier meaning for the *ayah χšusta*—taken up again in post-Zarathushtrian ages, as so often happens—proves little against it. I am half inclined to conjecture that the Metal was for him an *ordeal,* whereby the Separater did his work.

[2] *Yāh,* with or without the epithet *maz* or *mazišta,* "great(est)."

[3] *frašō-kərəti*: the abstract is post-Gathic. For the verb cf. *Ys* 30^9.

[4] Future participle of *sav,* "benefit": cf. p. 145.

Zarathushtra was not destined to see in this life the fulfilment of his great hope. We may digress for a moment to notice what happened to his doctrine generations after his death, when his glowing promises seemed to be mocked by the continuance of the present evil world. The successors of Zarathushtra did not abandon the conception of Saoshyant, nor detach him from the great teacher who had taught them to hope. The very name Saoshyant contained the idea of futurity; and in the true spirit of their founder they prepared themselves to wait for one who was yet to come. A mythical symbol was developed by which the future deliverer[1] was regarded as the

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[1] His name was *Astvat̰-ərəta,* "incarnate Right": Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 215) compares *Ys* 43^{16} *astvat̰ aš̌əm hyāt̰.* (It should be remembered that *ərəta* is really the same as *aša*, being indeed closer to the Aryan original of the Vedic *ṛta.*) This forms a climax after his two precursors, "Increaser of Right" and "Increaser of Worship." The name fell out of use ultimately in favour of the title *saošyant.* Cf. Söderblom, *La Vie Future,* 252: I prefer Bartholomae's interpretation, as restoring symmetry. As Söderblom himself says, the fact that his own rendering ("he who restores the body") is found in *Yt* 13^{129} does not prove that it is right.

Prophet's true seed, though only to be born ages after he passed away. But in essentials the eschatology was unchanged.

From the rather vague and general pictures of a renovated world we turn to the much more precise promises and warnings which Zarathushtra has for the individual. The diligent and peaceful husbandman is to find comfort under oppression in the certainty of a blessed future (*Ys* 28^5); and even the "robber horde" may be converted to the religion by this message. He calls his gospel a *manthra*, an old Aryan word which had always had the suggestion of inspiration about it. Later ages, in India and Iran alike, saw it degenerate into a spell; but Zarathushtra knows no magic—he will only try to convince men by the reasonableness of a message which he knows to be from God. He seems to have taught—though the Gathic texts are far from explicit here—that the merits of the Ashavan were being faithfully recorded day by day, to be brought out at the Last Day. Bartholomae's statement of this teaching may be quoted (*AirWb*, 702):—

> The victory of the world of Ahura over that of the Daevas is secured by the preponderance of good works over evil at the last account: the promised reward is secured for the individual by the preponderance of good in his own personal reckoning. Zarathushtra as "Overlord" (*ahū*) takes care that none of the faithful man's good works shall be lost, but entered in the account to his credit, and treasured up in Ahura's "House." As "Judge" (*ratu*) he accomplishes the final enfeebling of the world of the Druj, and the final dominion of Ahura Mazdah.

He finds the same teaching in the *Ahuna Vairya* (*Ys* 27^{13}), the great creed of Parsism, composed after

Zarathushtra's day, but at so early a date that the key to its meaning seems to have been mostly lost. We may thus render it, after Bartholomae:[1]—

> Even as he (Zarathushtra) is the Lord for us to choose, so is he the Judge, according to the Right, he that bringeth the life-works of Good Thought unto Mazdah, and (so) the Dominion unto Ahura, even he whom they made shepherd for the poor.[2]

On this reading of the creed we see the Prophet marked out by Asha, the Right Order of things, to take command of this life, and then at the last to present before God the merits of his faithful followers: Vohu Manah has a practically collective significance, as often. This final work will bring the complete victory over Evil, the coming of the Kingdom of God. In the light of this future climax of his work we are to contemplate his preparatory functions in earthly life as "shepherd of the poor," the oppressed husbandmen whose virtues are at last to win Ahura Mazdâh's reward.

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[1] See his elaborate defence of it in *Zum AirWb*, 126–133, where he gives Geldner's translation and his own in parallel columns and discusses differences between them. Geldner's investigation (*Studien*, 1882, p. 144 ff.) laid the foundation of an intelligible explanation of this profoundly difficult text. I should add that Dr Casartelli is not satisfied that the *ahū* is Zarathushtra and not Mazdah.

[2] It will be advisable to quote Bartholomae's own words, as I have reproduced him rather freely: I add Geldner's version for comparison:—

Bartholomae:

> Wie der beste Oberherr, so der (beste) Richter ist er (nämlich *Zaraϑuštra*) gemäss dem heiligen Recht, der des guten Sinnes Lebenswerke dem *Mazdāh* zubringt, und (so) die Obergewalt dem *Ahura*, er (*Zaraϑuštra*), den sie den Armen als Hirten bestellt haben.

Geldner:

> Wie er der auserwählte Regent, so wurde er von Aša selbst aus als Lehrer der Welt in den Werken des Vohumanō (der guten Gesinnung) bestellt für Mazda. Und die Herrschaft gehört dem Ahura, der den Hilfsbedürftigen einen Hirten bestellte.

Pahlavi books depict a treasure-house (*ganj*) where works of supererogation were stored for the benefit of those whose credit was inadequate. The idea makes the genuinely Iranian *Hamistakân* impossible —we are coming to this doctrine presently. It cannot be original, though the treasury in heaven, where merit is safely stored against the Judgement, is a thoroughly Gathic conception; compare *Ys* 43^2, and the statement on p. 160.

In close agreement with this lofty ethic is the thought on which the Gathas lay great stress, that the man's own Self (*daēnā*) is the real determiner of his eternal destiny. The *ego* of the Liars will bring them to hell by their own actions; their soul and their *ego* will distress them (*Ys* 31^{20}, 46^{11}). It is very suggestive that Zarathushtra tacitly ignores the part of the human personality which popular belief would have chosen for guardian on the way to paradise. A genius like the Fravashi, which was, so to speak, good *ex officio*, was not good enough for him.[1] The Self, which became fairer or fouler with every thought, word, or action of the man who owned it, was a fitter guardian angel or attendant fiend. The exquisite fragment of the Hadhokht Nask, generally known as Yasht 22, works out this idea entirely in the spirit of the Gathas.[1]

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[1] The special discussion of the Fravashi doctrine below (Lecture VIII.) deals with the reason why these spirits were only associated with the righteous; see pp. 257–9. There is also a note on the relation between the two (?) words *daēnā*.

We have seen how two constituent elements[2] of human personality, the *urvan* and the *daēnā*, fared at death. What about the body? Among the Persians, it was buried, and covered with wax,[3] which implied a desire to preserve it, very different from the implication of the Magian *dakhma*. According to the Later Avesta and the Pahlavi writers—to quote Prof. Jackson's summary[4]:—

> The physical constituents of the *gaēθā* which enter into combination at birth and go into dissolution at death are (1) *tanu*, or the entire body with its various anatomical portions; (2) *ast*, the bones or frame; (3) *gaya* or *uštāna*, life, vitality, which is lost at death (*Vd* 5^{9}). Although the corporeal body is resolved into its elements at death, the form (*kəhrp*, *tanu*) is once more renewed at the Resurrection (*Yt* 13^{61}, Fragm. 4^{3}); and the individual assumes the new body of the hereafter (Pahl. *tanū ī pasīn*) at the rejuvenescence or renewal of the world (*frašōkərəti*).

The teaching of the Gathas on the resurrection of the body is deduced by Prof. Jackson from *Ys* 30^{7}, where Aramaiti, who presides over the earth, gives "continued life of their bodies, and indestructibility." Since the bodies sleep in her bosom, her bestowal of ἀφθαρσία upon them accords well with the character of a genius who cannot consistently be associated with corruption. If so, we see opposite deductions from the purity of Earth. The Magi refuse to pollute her with the touch of a dead body. Zarathushtra accounts her to be so charged with life that she gives renewal of life to the corpse that is within her. Only, he does not allow this life-giving power to the material earth, but to the exalted Spirit, a very part of the Creator's being, which watches over the earth He made.[1]

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[1] A free verse paraphrase of this text, so far as it affects the passing of the righteous soul, will be found in my *ERPP*, at the end: sundry other features of Parsi eschatology are woven in. Bishop Casartelli has also put "*Yt* 22" into English verse, keeping closer to the text: see his *Leaves from my Eastern Garden* (Market Weighton, 1908).

[2] On the five spiritual constituents of man, found in the Yasht of the Fravashis, see below, p. 256 f.

[3] On this statement see below, p. 202 f., and the note on Herodotus, i. 140, p. 398.

[4] *Grundriss*, ii. 674.

In this idea, accordingly, we find Zarathushtra making use of material drawn from the old nature-worship, and adapting it to spiritual use. A more conspicuous example of this practice is found at the next step in the journey of the disembodied soul. *Cinvato pərətu*, the Bridge of the Separater, is mentioned three times in the Gathas,[2] and often in the Later Avesta, generally as one word, *cinvat̰-pərətu*, as is natural when it has become a technical term. We have detailed descriptions of it in our later authorities, summarised thus by Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 597):—

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[1] Prof. Söderblom's discussion (*La Vie Future*, 242) is prior to Prof. Jackson's treatment of the Gathic text, and must be modified in the light of it. He cites de Harlez for the view that even in *Yt* 19^{89} resurrection is spiritual, and that Pahlavi theology first introduced the notion of a *resurrectio carnis*. He himself thinks that "the resurrection may well have formed part of the theology of the priests of the Gathas, though in the fragments of Gathic literature that have come down to us they had no occasion to speak of it"—except once, as Prof. Jackson enables us to say, or even twice, as *Ys* 48^{6} suggests (see note).

[2] *Ys* 51^{13}, $46^{10, 11}$.

> According to Middle Persian books, it goes from the foot of *Harburz*[1] on the north to its southern ridge. Underneath the middle of it, which rests on the "Mount of Judgement" (*cikat ī daitīk*), lies hell. For the righteous it appears to be 9 spears' or 27 arrows' length across, but for the godless man as narrow as a razor's edge, so that he falls into hell. [A number of references follow.]

This picturesque fancy was borrowed by Islam: compare Byron's lines,

> Though on Al-Sirat's arch I stood,
> That topples o'er the fiery flood,
> With Paradise within my view,
> And all its Houris beckoning through.

(But Zarathushtra's Paradise had no houris!) There is no reason to question the antiquity of this description of the Bridge, though it comes to us from late authorities. It is, indeed, likely enough that the germ of it was older even than the Aryan period. There was in Northern mythology a bridge, guarded by a maiden, which led to the home of the dead.[2] It may have owed its origin to the rainbow, or more probably to the Milky Way. However this may be, Zarathushtra evidently concerned himself little enough with the working out of the myth. We trace the hall-mark of his thought in the name, which represents the only part of the idea he cared to retain. As Söderblom acutely points out,[3] the test of the Bridge is not ethical: it comes down from a time when vigour and agility which could get over a tight-rope without turning dizzy were qualities for admission into Paradise. Zarathushtra had no use for Blondins, any more than for houris, in his Paradise; and in retaining the Bridge from the popular belief he added a judgement which the soul had to undergo before passing over. Of course, this made the Bridge superfluous, but it also made it a harmless conception:[1] given the new ethical figure of the "Separater" (*Cinvant*), the Bridge to which he admitted might be retained. In *Ys* 32[15] we read how the righteous, whom the sinful community will not have to rule over them, shall be "borne away from them to the dwelling of Good Thought." This is the separation on which the Gathas insist so strongly. Who is the *Cinvant*? The answer seems to be supplied decisively by *Ys* 46[17]:—

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[1] Modern Persian *Alburz,* a mythical mountain in the Avesta, *Harā bərəzaitī.*

[2] So Prof. H. M. Chadwick in a letter to me: he thinks there is affinity with *cinvatō pərətu.* See other parallels in Söderblom, *Les Fravashis,* 70 f.

[3] *Les Fravashis,* 70, following de Harlez.

> Where [in Paradise], O Jamaspa Hvogva, I will recount your wrongs . . . before him who shall separate (*vīcinaoṯ*) the wise and the unwise through Right, his prudent counsellor, even Mazdah Ahura.

Minor differences between the translators here, referred to in the note, do not affect the certain inference; and that God should be the Judge of all is what we should expect. But Mazdah is not alone at the Bridge, though his function there is supreme. Zarathushtra himself will be there: as he declares in the same hymn (*Ys* 46[10]), he will plead for his followers as their advocate and then accompany them as their guide. There is also Rashnu, the abstraction of Justice, called *razišta*, "most just," in the Later Avesta, where he first appears as the *yazata* charged with the weighing of the merits and demerits of men before the Bridge. He is specially associated with Mithra and Sraosha, the latter of whom is a Gathic figure. Moreover, the fact that he has only a late and perfunctory Yasht addressed to him rather takes him out of the category of the Yazatas of the unreformed Iranian religion—the Daevas in the older sense, as we saw above (p. 137 f.): his entirely abstract character goes the same way. Since his functions are very limited, and are only named in a few places in the Gathas, it is perhaps not strange that Sraosha, who stands essentially on the same footing, should appear frequently and Rashnu not at all. But it is equally possible that Rashnu is a later impersonation, conceived in the true spirit of Zarathushtra's system, but after the Gathic canon was closed.[1]

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[1] Cf. Böklen, *Pars. Esch.*, 26: "Sie ist offenbar ein mythologisches Stück, das die Gâthaverfasser übernommen haben und das für sie nur insoweit Interesse hatte, als sich geistige Vorstellungen damit verknüpfen liess."

Putting Rashnu, then, aside, as at least unprovable for the period of Zarathushtra, we should add a few points as to the function of the Prophet himself in the Judgement. I spoke of him just now as his followers' "Advocate" before Mazdah (*Ys* 46^{17}), and their "Guide" across the Bridge (*ib.*^{10}). But there is a suggestion of more exalted function yet. In *Ys* 34^{1}, at any rate according to the natural rendering of the existing text, Zarathushtra declares he "will give Immortality and Right and the Dominion of Welfare" in Mazdah's name: see the note there. And in the supremely sacred *Ahuna Vairya* formula, which cannot be much later than the Gathic period, we have seen that Zarathushtra is declared to be both *ahū* and *ratu*, lord of men's belief and conduct here, and ultimate judge, to present the fruits of his religion before Mazdah. That he will be *ratu*—Mazdah being *ahū*—at the Resurrection is to be gathered also from *Ys* 33[1] and 31[2], the latter of which passages is quite precise. It would seem that Zarathushtra regards himself as filling in the corporeal world the place that Mazdah fills in the spiritual, by virtue of his unquestioning conviction that Mazdah has inspired him to know the truth. His work in the world then is to produce a like conviction in the minds of other men, and by this to reform human life as a whole. As already stated, the ultimate victory of the Good—or in technical language the "Dominion of Ahura Mazdah"—depends on the final preponderance of good thoughts, words, and deeds over evil in the world as a whole. By persuading men to "Obedience," accordingly, Zarathushtra "brings the Dominion to Mazdah." If he judges men on their life record, it is as preacher of a revelation which they have accepted or rejected: "the word that I spoke," he might say, "it shall judge him at the Last Day." There is nothing in the least incongruous or self-assertive in the Prophet's claim, and certainly nothing to prompt any inference that sentences in which it is made could not have come from his own lips.

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[1] Tiele (*Religionsgesch.*, 210) would see Greek influence in the later triad of Judges—Mithra, Sraosha, and Rashnu. I greatly doubt it.

It may be noted, by the way, that any difficulty which might have been felt as to the apparent coincidence of function between Mazdah and Zarathushtra at the Judgement is discounted further by the appearance of other names yet. In *Ys* 43[12] Sraosha comes as angel of judgement—as in the Later Avesta—

> followed by treasure-laden Destiny (*Aši*), who shall render to men severally the destinies of the twofold award.

So here, as in many other places, Mazdah's attributes, described as his fellow-Ahuras, perform a function belonging essentially to God in His unity of nature. This is of course sharply differentiated from the sense in which the human teacher acts as judge, as the stanza just cited will itself show when examined as a whole.

Two or three other points may be referred to in connexion with the concept of Judgement. A striking anthropomorphic phrase appears in *Ys* 34[4], where the separation of "faithful" and "hostile" is made by "the pointings of the hand." If *Ys* 43[4] (*q.v.*) refers to the same idea, the hand will be that of Mazdah. Reserving for the present some consequences of the central doctrine of the weighing of men's merits and demerits, we may take up the question of the individual judgement, as contrasted with the general. In his review of Stave's book on the influence of Parsism on Judaism,[1] Prof. Söderblom seems to doubt the emergence of this doctrine as early as the Gathic period. I cannot but feel that this goes rather too far. The figure of the Separater contains everything essential in the later doctrine of judges who wait by the Bridge; and I should hold rather emphatically that the Judgement is Zarathushtra's own addition to the eschatological picture. The weighing is no doubt an old Iranian idea. It coincides remarkably with the principle of Persian jurisprudence, whereby an accused man was supposed to be judged on his whole record, and a balance of merits might cancel the offence with which he was charged. And if we are right in recognising *Hamistakân* in two passages of the Gathas—on which see p. 174 f.—it seems essential that we should accept the doctrine of judgement in this form as an integral part of Zarathushtra's own system.

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[1] *Rev. de l'histoire des religions,* xl. 266 ff.

From the Bridge the soul of the good man passes into Paradise—according to the Later Avesta through the three heavens of good thought, good word, and good deed. The Gathic name *Garō dəmāna* means "House of Praise"[1]: *garō* answers phonetically to the Sanskrit *giras*, genitive of *gīḥ*, and there seems no reason for trying some other equation. Söderblom well compares the fine phrase in Psalm 22^{4}. The name is kept up in the Later Avesta (*garōnmāna*) and in Pahlavi, but its implication is nowhere brought out. If Söderblom's parallel from the Ṛgveda (x. 135^{7}) is more than accidental—songs and flute are heard in Yama's heaven[2]—we should suppose that Zarathushtra took over this name of heaven from

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[1] Söderblom (*La Vie Future*, 98) makes *mə̄n gairē* in *Ys* 28^{4} an equivalent. This is supported by the Pahlavi tradition and Neriosengh (see Mills, *Gâthâs*, 8 f.); but it is difficult to get it out of the text. See the translation below (p. 345), and *AirWb*, 514.

[2] *Gīrbhiḥ pariṣkṛtaḥ* shows in fact the same word.

Aryan antiquity, and did not lay enough stress on it to give us any expansion of the idea. Whether this be so or not, he seems to have created terms of his own which were more in accord with his trend of thought.[1] He likes to dwell on the word "*best*" (*vahišta*), which ultimately survived all other names for heaven: it may be read in the new Manichæan fragments from Turfan, and in Modern Persian still. The name of the Amshaspand *Vohū* or *Vahištəm Manō* describes the paradise where the Best Thought dwells.[2] It seems fair to claim that Zarathushtra anticipated Marlowe and Milton in the great doctrine that

> The mind is its own place, and in itself
> Can make a heaven of hell, a hell of heaven.

Sometimes we find "the House of Good Thought" (*Ys* 30^{10} *al.*), "the Kingdom of Good Thought" (*Ys* 33^{5}), "the Kingdom of blessings" (*Ys* 28^{9}), "the Pasture of Good Thought" (*Ys* 33^{3}), "the glorious heritage of Good Thought" (*Ys* 53^{4}); and we are told in a fine sentence that the way to it is on "the road of Good Thought, built by Right, on which the Selves of the Future Deliverers shall go to the reward" (*Ys* 34^{13}). The language used is not quite free from metaphor. The poet longs to "see

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[1] Söderblom, following Darmesteter, would add one to the list which I do not venture to give except in a footnote. In *Ys* 46^{16}, *varədəmąm* was read by the Pahlavi glossator as a compound of *varə* and *dəma*; and Darmesteter rendered duly "Dans la demeure des vœux comblés." Bartholomae (*Idg. Forsch.*, x. 10) says the Pahlavi is only an "etymologische Spielerei," which the French savant has taken *au grand sérieux*. He himself makes it an infinitive (Skt *vardhman*): Geldner renders "in seiner Herrlichkeit." I confess I rather like the *Spielerei*, and sympathise with Söderblom. See *La Vie Future*, 99, and my note on *Ys* 46 *l.c.*

[2] See below, p. 349, note on *Ys* 30^{4}.

Right and Good Thought, the throne of mightiest Ahura and the Obedience (*sraošəm*) of Mazdah" (*Ys* 28[5]). But there clearly cannot be any approach to a spatial conception of the place where the Wise Lord is throned, when "Obedience to Mazdah" comes as its correlative in the next line. Perhaps the nearest approach to localising the Paradise is in *Ys* 30[1]—"the felicity that is with the heavenly lights, which through Right shall be beheld by him that wisely thinks." But we need not stay to show that this involves no more real localising than when we speak of "heaven" as the abode of the blessed. The Later Avesta made more of this when it stereotyped the phrase *anaγra raocă̊*, "the Lights without beginning." Yet there too the commoner terms for heaven and hell are *vahištō* and *acištō aŋhuš*, "the Best," "the Worst Existence." The Gathic names for hell are of the same mintage. It is the House of the Lie (*Druj*), and of Worst Thought, the Home of the Daevas, the Worst Existence, and the like. Remorse is the sharpest of the pangs of hell: whoever went on the downward path,

> his own thoughts, along that rugged way,
> Pursued, like raging hounds, their father and their prey.

But there are more symbols employed here. Hell is full of darkness, sad voices, stench, foul food, and cold. It would seem that the conception of it sprang from the privations of winter on the steppes during the migration southward, when the preciousness of the house-fire made Âtar the very symbol of all that was best for man. For the Iranian, hell and the demons were always in the north. The idea of darkness is the distinguishing feature of the House of the Lie. It is worked out in the later fancy which conceives the damned so close together that they seemed an indistinguishable mass; yet in the darkness each ever wails, "I am alone!" The symbolism of Fire was kept out of this eschatology for obvious reasons. It was left to the imagination of Milton to combine the symbols:—

> A dungeon horrible on all sides round
> As one great furnace flamed, yet from those flames
> No light, but rather darkness visible.

The picture is quite in the spirit of the Gathas. The basis of the darkness motive was very likely Aryan. In the Ṛgveda (vii. 104[3]) hell is a place of darkness in the depths of the earth. We have seen already (p. 128 f.) how the evil spirit was imagined before Zarathushtra to dwell below as "the god underground," in the phrase of Herodotus. The Prophet, then, is using again imagery made ready for him. But as usual he takes care to stamp it with his own hallmark, and make it clear that imagery is only meant to impress ideas that are wholly of the mind.

If ideas of space are left intentionally vague, we soon find that those of time are defined with vivid clearness. There are three different phrases to indicate the duration of future reward and punishment. A typical passage is *Ys* 45[7].

> He whose awards, whereof he ordains, men shall attain whoso are living or have been or shall be. In eternity (*amərətāitī*) shall the soul (*urvā*) of the righteous be happy, in perpetuity (*utayūtā*) the torments of the men of the Lie. All this doth Mazdah Ahura appoint by his Dominion.

Here of course we might render "in immortality"; but in *Ys* 48[1] we read:

> That which was long since foretold shall be dealt out in eternity to demons and to men.

Amərətāt is capable therefore of meaning simply endless existence. The phrase *yavōi vīspāi*, "to all time," is unmistakable in *Ys* 46[11], where it is said of the Karapans and Kavis (pp. 140, 157):

> Their own soul and their own Self shall torment them when they come to the Bridge of the Separater. To all time will they be guests for the House of the Lie.

The same phrase is used of the happiness of the righteous. In the light of these two expressions we can hardly doubt that *darəga*, "long," means "eternal" in this connexion. In *Ys* 30[11] "long punishment," and 31[20] "the future long age of misery, of darkness, ill food, and crying of woe," are as clearly endless as in 33[5] is the "long life" of him who treads "the straight ways unto Right, wherein Mazdah Ahura dwells." *Utayūiti*, "perpetuity," is another word used of both states: see *Ys* 45[7], just quoted, and 33[8].

The future of the righteous and of the wicked is accordingly marked out clearly enough, and the contrast is as that of noon and midnight. So reasonable and practical a thinker was not likely to overlook the fact that a large proportion of men will not easily fall into classes between which there is a great gulf fixed. Since provision was admittedly made for this in later Parsism, the presumption is in favour of the expectation that Zarathushtra would not omit to deal with it. And there are two Gathic passages where the recognition of the Limbo doctrine seems to suit the language and the context better than anything else. I quote them after Bartholomae, to whom belongs the credit of having first found the key:[1]

> According as it is with those laws that belong to the present life, so shall the Judge act with most just deed towards the man of the Lie and the man of the Right, and him whose false things and good things balance (*Ys* 33^1: see notes on the passage, p. 358).

Zarathushtra is himself the *Ratu* (Judge) here, though he does not expressly make the claim. Less certain, but with a high degree of probability, is the reference in *Ys* 48^4:

> He who makes his thought now better now worse, and even so his Self by deed and word, who follows his own inclinations, desires, and choices, his place shall be separate according to thy judgement at the last.

The "separate place" here is made explicit in the Later Avestan *misva gātu*, "place of the mixed." It was said to extend from the earth to the stars—was this large allowance intended to suggest that there would be a preponderance of souls that could not be classified as *ašavan* or as *drəgvant*? Souls in this limbo only suffered the changes of temperature due to the seasons, and the Regeneration would bring their dubious position to an end. Later speculations of this nature need not be described; but one specimen might be noted, the case of Keresâspa. This hero might have been expected to go to *Garōnmāna* for his exploits in dragon-slaying, related in *Yt* 19[38] ff. and elsewhere. But he was unfortunate enough to offend the Fire, by attempting cookery on what seemed an island but was really a sea-monster's back. The monster withdrew into the depths, Âtar suffering extinction in the process; and "the manly-minded Keresâspa fled affrighted," though the Pahlavi commentator assures us that he proved his manly-mindedness by keeping his wits under obviously trying circumstances. It seems a little hard that he should be condemned to limbo for an act so unintentionally disrespectful to the majesty of Fire. The story is worth repeating for the patent contrast it affords to the lines of Zarathushtra's thought. His "middling souls" were, we may be sure, determined on more ethical principles; but the scanty indications of the Gathas are not enough to satisfy our curiosity further. It is interesting to compare Plato's treatment of the same problem in the mythus of the *Phædo*, c. 62. Roth compares also a passage in the Koran (Sur. 7) where men of this kind abide on the ridge of the wall separating paradise and hell, content to escape the torments they see on the one side, but full of unquenchable longing for the joys visible on the other. Milton's Paradise of Fools, located on the outermost "sphere" of the Ptolemaic "world," is another interesting literary parallel.

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[1] Prof. Bartholomae draws my attention to an oversight of mine in *ERPP*, 98, by which I assigned the *Priorität* to Roth. As a matter of fact, Roth's well-known paper in *ZDMG*, xxxvii. 223–9, was two years after that of Bartholomae in the same journal (1881), and was written to controvert the criticism of de Harlez. Söderblom (*La Vie Future*, 126) thinks the Dasturs read too much into *Ys* 33^1, and that Zarathushtra thought as little of *Hamistakân* when he wrote it as Paul thought of Purgatory in 1 Cor. 3^{15}. Dr Casartelli also thinks the doctrine later (*Mazdayasnian Religion*, p. 194 f). But neither he nor Söderblom had before him Bartholomae's treatment of *hə̄mə-myāsaite* as from *hə̄m* (Skt *sam*, Greek ἅ–) and the root *myas*, "mix," cognate with Skt *miçrá*, and ultimately with *misceo* and *μίγνυμι*: see Walde, *Latein. etym. Wörterbuch*^{2}, 488. This brings in L.Av. *misvan* and Pahl. *hamistakân* to be etymological as well as semantic associates.

Some other details in Zarathushtra's eschatology will emerge from the reading of the Gathas as given below. What has been said will suffice for a general picture of his system. Later accretions, consistent or incongruous, may be examined in Söderblom's great monograph, in Casartelli's authoritative account of Sassanian Parsism, and in Böklen's suggestive but too ingenious exposition of parallels between Parsi and Jewish eschatology. A few general observations must suffice here.

Specifically Magian eschatology was probably limited to speculations as to a new heaven and a new earth. We have the authority of Theopompus for their belief in immortality, but even Theopompus is not nearly ancient enough to guarantee his evidence as applying to Magianism apart from the Iranian and the strictly Zarathushtrian elements which they assimilated. Of course, I must admit in my turn that to *prove* the absence of an individual eschatology in original Magianism lies outside the evidence. There is one obvious point of view from which Magianism would naturally come to a belief in immortality. Death is conspicuously the creation of Ahriman, one of whose standing epithets is *pouru-mahrka*, "many-slaying." Even, then, if immortality formed no part of the original doctrine of the Magi—and it seems to me improbable that it did belong to their system before they took up Zoroastrianism—it would be commended to them by their tendency to make the world evenly divided between the two opposing powers. Light and darkness, health and sickness, knowledge and ignorance, love and hate —these were antitheses necessarily linked with the conception of Ormazd and Ahriman. Life and death could clearly not be omitted; and the certainly Magian notion of the supremely polluting power of a corpse would tend to suggest that the good Spirit must annul that which was so conspicuously the triumph of his foe. This, however, only meant that the Magi accepted immortality, not that they inherited a doctrine based on the analogy of nature, like the unreformed Iranian religion, or like Zarathushtra could contribute original and profound thought to the establishment of the far-reaching conception which was to influence so widely the religious thinking of men. The more characteristically Magian speculations—the flattened earth, the vanishing of shadows, the uniformity of speech, and the like—I have dealt with elsewhere. How far these Magian ideals contribute to the enhancement of happiness in the world that is to be, the reader may judge for himself.

Meanwhile, among the Iranian peoples whose belief in a future life Zarathushtra had inherited and developed, the picturesque and mythical side of the doctrine naturally went on gathering new features. The hints of the Gathas were improved upon—if, indeed, we must not generally say that the Gathas have reduced to mere hints elements of mythus already existing, which in post-reformation days recovered all their old exuberance. For example, the Gathas allude[1] to the nectar and ambrosia—if we may translate by familiar terms of another mythology—on which the blessed are to feast in the House of Praise. It is there, as we should expect, a passing symbol, no more to be taken literally than the "fruit of the vine" which Jesus spoke of drinking in the Kingdom of God. In the Later Avesta there is more precision. The climax of the exquisite description of the passage of the soul into the presence of Ahura in the Hadhokht Nask ("Yasht 22") is the answer from the Throne to the question addressed to the newcomer by one who has arrived before him:—

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[1] See *Ys* 34^{11} and note (p. 363).

> [16] How didst thou die, O righteous man? How camest thou, righteous man, from homes stocked with cattle and where birds gather and pair (?), from the corporeal world into the spiritual, from the world of perils into that where perils are not? How fell it that the long felicity has come to thee?
>
> [17] Then spake Ahura Mazdah: Ask him not of whom thou art asking, who has come on the awful, painful, distressful path where body and consciousness[1] part asunder. [18] Let them bring him food of springtide butter: this is the food of the youth[2] of good thoughts, good words, good deeds, good Self after death; this the food for the woman whose good thoughts, good words, good deeds outweigh (the evil), docile, obedient to the authority,[3] after her death.

This *raoγna zaramaya* is evidently the survival of an Aryan concept, seen in the Indian *amṛti* and the Greek and other Indo-European mythologies. As we see elsewhere, the Aryan *Sauma* (Haoma) belongs to the same category. The antithetic "foul food," as the most characteristic feature of hell, has met us already in the Gathas (p. 172), and meets us again in the obverse of Yasht 22 (l.[36]).

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[1] *Astasca baoδaṇhasca:* cf. the five parts of man as described below, p. 256 f.

[2] For the *daēnā* has the form of eternal youth, fixed as that of fifteen years old.

[3] *Ratu.* In the Later Avesta Bartholomae defines it as the spiritual superior assigned to every creature of Ahura, who has to make the decision in all questions, especially of religion. Sometimes it keeps its older sense of Judge. See *AirWb,* 1498.

There are many other things to be learnt from the gem of the Later Avesta from which this quotation comes. I must stay for only one, the registration of a clear sign-manual of Magian work in the exact and mechanical balancing of all its details. As the Yasht has come down to us, a large section of this hideous caricature is missing. Darmesteter (*SBE*, xxiii. 319 f.) supplies its substance from the Book of Ardâ Vîrâf, the Pahlavi Dante. We should have liked to believe that something sealed the lips of that literary outrage-monger, when he set to the deliberate spoiling of the most beautiful thing in the Avesta. But I do not imagine that poetry was much in the line of the priestly theorists who tried to make Zarathushtra's teaching symmetrical. It may have been only accident that stayed the sacrilegious hand. It is, however, a curious coincidence at least that so much of this balancing seems to have been left unfinished—angels only half provided with fiends to match, and virtues with imperfectly vicious antitheses. It all belongs to the general fact that the syncretism was completed before the Magi had become entirely merged in the Parsi community, having clung too long to their own peculiar uses and beliefs, which were destined to fail of entrance to the closed canon of Sassanian reformed Mazdayasna.

Let me close with one reminder affecting a field I have left generally untouched for reasons sufficiently set forth elsewhere. That the religion we know as Mithraism moved on a very different and a very much lower plane than the creed of Zarathushtra has been already made clear; also that most of its primary characteristics were so independent of our Prophet, and so charged with Semitic and other alien ideas, that its study cannot help us in the delineation of the religion with which we are concerned. But it was mostly Aryan mythology that gave Mithraism its doctrine of immortality. The long, stern struggle between Mithra and Christ now lies many centuries back in the past, and nothing but Christmas Day remains to preserve the significant fact that the "Birthday of the Unconquerable Sun" has long been added to the Victor's spoils. We can record then without grudging the value of the testimony of Mithraism as to the wistful hope of humanity. It is faithfully enshrined in Mr Kipling's splendid song, which, if it is far away from Zarathushtra,[1] would in this regard at least not be unworthy of his thought:

> Mithras, God of the sunset, low on the Western main,
> Then descending immortal, immortal to rise again!
> Now when the watch is ended, now when the wine is drawn,
> Mithras, also a soldier, keep us pure till the dawn!
>
> Mithras, God of the Midnight, here where the great bull dies,
> Look on thy children in darkness, oh take our sacrifice!
> Many roads Thou hast fashioned: all of them lead to the Light,
> Mithras, also a soldier, teach us to die aright!

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[1] What Zarathushtra thought of the nocturnal *taurobolium,* alluded to in the second stanza, is noted on p. 129.

LECTURE VI

THE MAGI

Μάγοι δὲ κεχωρίδαται πολλὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων.—HERODOTUS.

WE turn now to what I have provisionally called the non-Aryan stratum in the Avesta. In delineating this I must premise that I am venturing largely off the beaten track of scholarship, and endeavouring to blaze a path for myself through a rather difficult wood. I have indicated already that the Yashts, and kindred parts of the Avesta, represent with tolerable exactness the unreformed Iranian religion. They are posterior to Zarathushtra in time but not in matter, except to a relatively small degree.[1] Like many another great religious reformer, Zarathushtra overstepped the people's capacity. His success was mainly with the court circle, and depended on the fortunate accident that he discovered a monarch of high character and spiritual receptivity. Of really popular elements his religion had few ; and as soon as the Founder himself and his royal convert were gone, the religious conditions of the people largely reverted to the previous level. Only the Prophet's name remained, and some of the simpler conceptions of his system, which were preserved by the very fact that they were misunderstood, and could therefore be assimilated to other elements of a practically undisturbed polytheism. The systematisation of Zarathushtra's doctrine, in a form that in some of its most serious aspects really approximated to their original, was reserved for the age of the Sassanians.

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[1] Cf. Bartholomae's dictum (*Zum Air Wb*, 245): "The Later Avesta contains a great deal that is wholly non-Zoroastrian."

It becomes very clear as we study the Avesta that a mere reversion to Iranian polytheism will not account for all its features. The Yashts and Later Yasna are explained, apart from many passages which proclaim themselves relatively late in the most cursory examination. But the ritual portion, covering nearly all the Vendidad and cognate texts, written wholly in prose, cannot possibly be interpreted from sources that give us Aryan or Iranian religion. Now our classical texts are unanimous in connecting the Persian religion with the name of the Magi. Who were they? They are absent altogether from the Avesta, one prose passage excepted, very obviously late; but from Herodotus down they figure consistently in Greek and Latin writers as the priests of the Persian religion. He gives us as usual our first and best information. There were six tribes, he says, in Media. All the names have been plausibly interpreted on Persian lines by Oppert, and again by Carnoy.[1] We are only concerned with two, the 'Αριζαντοί and the Μάγοι. The former word is obvious Persian, *Ariyazantava*, "having Aryan family"—or perhaps *Arizantava*, "having noble family."[1] We should not allow the word *Aryan* the wide connotation we generally give it: we can hardly believe that five out of the six tribes were non-Aryan, though we may be fairly certain that some of them were. If we take *ariya* here as denoting the aristocracy we shall probably not be far wrong: the alternative cognate *ari* of course means this in any case. It will anyhow mean the same as it does in the Behistan Inscription (not the Old Persian form of it), where Auramazda is "god of the Aryans." The Magi are accordingly outside the ruling caste: whether they belong to what we call the Aryans or not may be left open for the present. But we might separate the language question, remembering that scientifically we must think of Aryan first as a language term exclusively,[1] with freedom to

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[1] Dr Casartelli has kindly called my attention to an able article by Prof. Carnoy, of Louvain, on "Le Nom des Mages," *Le Muséon*, n.s., ix. 121–158 (1908). He discusses afresh the names of the six tribes, regarding them all as Aryan. For 'Αριζαντοί he would

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recognise the prefix *ari* in Skt *ari-gūrta,* etc., so that it is equivalent to *οἱ ἄριστοι.* Names like Ἀριάσπης, "with strong horses," require the original sense of *ārya,* while such as Ἀριαράθης, "friend of Aryans," demand the derived. If we say that the word meant "noble," both in the social and in the deeper sense, we shall probably be near the truth. As I argue in the text, "Aryan" did not mean what we make it mean, in any case. As to Μάγοι, Prof. Carnoy urges that it must fall into line with the rest, which he has interpreted as names of social castes: his argument is certainly plausible, though we can hardly expect assured proof. He connects it with *μῆχαρ, μηχάνη,* Μαχάων, which by a careful linguistic analysis he brings into line with the Gothic and Old Irish word discussed in the Excursus below (p. 429). The meaning he reaches is "celui qui aide, qui travaille à guèrir et à repousser les maux." This is undoubtedly appropriate to the Magi as shamans; but does it explain the absence of the name from the Avesta as satisfactorily as the explanation I venture below?

[1] E. Meyer (*Gesch. d. Alt.*, iii. 28) thinks *ariya* in Darius's usage means the Old Persian language: it is to *Pārsa* what Ἕλλην is to Βοιωτός. But I do not think we must exclude the possibility that others beside the ruling caste spoke Old Persian. Meyer notes that

postulate the existence of various different races within the same speech area. It is well then to remember that the Behistan Rock itself, with its three languages, bears witness to Media as a trilingual country. The Susianian or Elamite must have been largely spoken within Media, as there is no reason of State for including it. The Babylonian shows that there was a considerable Semitic population. That Old Persian was also spoken by a section of the common people is highly probable; but it must be allowed that it is the only dialect of the three which might be there as an official language. In Palestine, for example, Aramaic was the native tongue, Greek that of all dealings with the outside world; Latin was there simply as the official language of the government, which was very likely understood by no more than a minute proportion of the Jews. I do not suggest that Old Persian was in the same case in Media; but it is as well to recall this consideration that we may not overestimate the predominance of Aryan speech there.

To this Aryan speech the name of the Magi seems to belong. To summarise here the results of a more technical detached note at the end of this book (p. 428 f.), there appears to be reason to believe that it was a name which the Magi themselves did not use; they kept it out of the Avesta, except in one passage. If the other tribal names of Media are Aryan, as is probable, there is a presumption that this will be. And there happens to be a phonetically exact Indo-

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in Æschylus, *Choeph.* 423, Ἄριον (ᾰ) means Persian (as the Scholiast explains it); he compares Herod. vii. 62, where it is stated that the Medes used to be called Ἄριοι.

European equation available, which, as I read it, will give the meaning "slave." It was, then, a contemptuous title given by Persian conquerors to a subjugated populace, and especially to the caste which had probably been foremost in resistance, as the revolt of Gaumata would lead us to expect. We remember how Cambyses, when he heard of the Magian revolt, adjured those present, and especially the Achæmenians, not to let the kingdom go to the Medes, of whom the Magi are simply a leading tribe.[1] Compare also the notice in Herodotus, cited elsewhere,[2] as to the popularity of Gaumata with the native population. The historian tells us[3] that the Persians kept as their greatest feast the Μαγοφόνια,[4] the anniversary of the day when Darius and his Six slew Gaumata, and the Persians were only stayed by darkness from massacring all the Magi. On this Persian Fifth of November "no Magian may appear in the light, but they keep within their houses for this day," having perhaps some reason to fear another *pogrom.* Ctesias also mentions this commemoration,[5] which was no doubt intended to remind the subject population of the consequences that would follow if they tempted fortune again with an effort to throw off the yoke. (I must not stay to discuss the possibility that the

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[1] Herod. iii. 65. [2] See p. 196. [3] Herod. iii. 79.

[4] So Herodotus: Ctesias (see next note) makes it *μαγοφονία.*

[5] Gilmore, p. 149, Ἄγεται τοῖς Πέρσαις ἑορτὴ τῆς μαγοφονίας καθ᾽ ἣν Σφενδαδάτης ὁ Μάγος ἀνῄρηται. (Was the name Ctesias gives him a religious title, assumed when he ascended the throne? "Maker of holiness (or beneficence)" would be suitable; and though Ctesias did not go to a Persian school, where τὸ ἀληθεύειν was third subject in the curriculum, he can hardly have invented this good Persian name **Spantadāta.*)

Magophonia had a history behind it, attaching itself to "an old festival of uproarious character" under cover of which Darius and his comrades were enabled to kill Gaumata. It is worked out as a theory, involving some exceedingly interesting consequences, by Dr Louis H. Gray in *ERE*, v. 874 f.) The ubiquitous "rebellions," which all the energy and resources of Darius were needed to quell, bear eloquent testimony to the strength of the indigenous populace. The Ἀριζαντοί were probably the only Median residents who had kinship and sympathy for the Persians. The story of the revolt leaves us, accordingly, with the impression that the Magi were the natural leaders of the indigenous people of Media, whether Aryan or non-Aryan in language. We might even explain along these lines the connexion between Magians and Chaldæans, which causes confusion in some classical writers.[1] This may arise simply from the general belief that the Magi represented the native, non-Persian element.

Can we find signs of the presence of Magi in the country before the conquest of Cyrus? Our earliest Greek source[2] makes the Median king Astyages consult "the oneiromancers of the Magi." This, however, in view of the historian's date, can count for little. But nearly two centuries earlier the Prophet Jeremiah[3] includes a *Rab-Mag* among a number of Babylonian officers sent to Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar in 586 B.C. That this means "Archi-magus" is at least the most obvious and natural interpretation; and as it is mostly Semitists who question it, with authority that I should be the last to dispute, I record with satisfaction that "chief soothsayer" is the meaning given in the Oxford Hebrew Lexicon. Moreover, according to Zimmern and Winckler,[1] the name of this official, Nergal-Sharezer,[2] means "Nergal, protect the King"; and in their account of Nergal they expressly compare Ahriman, who they think owed his origin at least partially to Babylonian mythology. The probability that the specially Magian contribution to Avestan religion was coloured by Babylonian ideas is strong, as I shall show later (p. 238–41). I have observed already (p. 135–7) that the Ahriman of the Vendidad is not the figure of the Gathas, from which the Magi selected a casual epithet and turned it into a proper name. The head of a caste of exorcists, who by potent charms can keep the Satan from harming the king, answers remarkably well to the Magi who exercise their apotropaic functions in Plutarch (p. 399 f.). I fancy some of the opposition arises from the axiom roundly stated by Dr Cheyne,[3] that the Magi "have no place in Babylonia"—which is just what has to be proved. The opinion of Dr C. H. W. Johns[4] that the Rab-Mag may have been "Master of the horse in the Assyrian Court" must naturally carry great weight. But perhaps if we can show reason for expecting to find Magi, as a priestly caste, in Babylonia at this date, the objection to the most obvious explanation of the name may disappear.

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[1] See Wilhelm, *ZDMG*, xliv. (1910), 153.

[2] Herod. i. 107.

[3] Jer. $39^{3,13}$.

So far, then, we have convergent evidence which traces the Magi to Media and Jerusalem respectively during the last generation before the accession of Cyrus. Our next item is not concerned with their name, but with their characteristic cultus, in a detail which we can prove to be peculiar to them. Ezekiel describes in ch. 8 a series of "abominations" taking place in the Temple at Jerusalem, the date being accordingly a little earlier than that at which we have just seen the Chief Magus in the suite of the Assyrian general there: the vision itself is dated 591 B.C., but the practices in question may be either contemporaneous or earlier. First comes a debased animal-worship; then, as a "greater abomination," the women weeping for Tammuz; finally, as greatest abomination of all, some twenty-five men with their backs turned to the Temple, worshipping the sun toward the east, "and lo, they put the branch to their nose." Interpreters, from the LXX down, seem to have made nothing out of this last clause. The recognition of the Magi here supplies a perfectly simple key. Taking Ezekiel's phrase as it stands, we see in the rite a very natural concomitant of sun-worship. In many forms of primitive religion the cultus of sun and of trees is closely united; and the holding of a bough before the face when worshipping the sun is likely enough to have been the starting-point of the usage, which meets us next in a developed form. Now we have various notices from antiquity which connect the Magi with the ritual use of "rods" (*ῥάβδοι*). They were said by Deinon[1] to divine with them: the scholiast who quotes him for us adds that they were of tamarisk. This detail appears in Strabo (xv. 14), who tells us that in Cappadocia the Magi guarded a perpetual fire, before which for an hour every day they chant, τὴν δεσμὴν τῶν ῥάβδων ἔχοντες.[1] This would have been recognised without hesitation as the explanation of Ezk. $8^{16, 17}$, had not the obvious difficulty of seeing Parsism in Jerusalem at the beginning of the sixth century B.C. forced the commentators to look elsewhere. But the very phraseology of the ritual betrays the fact that we are not dealing with Parsism at all, although we are recognising a rite identical with the use of the *barsom* which Parsi priests still hold to the face as they minister before the sacred fire.[2] The Avestan *barəsman* is cognate with *barəziš*, "cushion," Skt *barhiṣ*, the carpet of grass on which the flesh of the offering was laid. We have already seen (p. 68 f.) that this form of sacrifice was Persian as well as Indian. In the Avesta, where a bundle of twigs held in the hands is substituted for the mat of tender grass described by Herodotus (p. 394 f. below), the wholly incongruous verb *star*, "to spread," is used to describe the putting together of the barsom—a clear reminiscence of the very different usage on which the Magi grafted their own cult instrument. The notice in Ezekiel is reinforced by Dr Gray with a very plausible allusion in Isaiah (17^{10}, "cuttings of an alien God"), where, however, the context is not so clear. It may be noted, however, that there is a remarkable coincidence with Ezekiel, if we read the Isaiah passage according to Dr Gray's suggestion. The "plantings of Adonis"[1] answer to the Tammuz or Adonis worship in Ezekiel, and the "slips of a strange god" to the "branch held to the nose" by Magian sun-worshippers. Each prophet thus points his denunciation of idolatry by bringing together two heathen cults, and the same two—one that of the vegetation spirit, the other that of the sun, adorned with an emblem which itself showed how closely kin they both were.[2]

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[1] Schrader, *KAT*^{3}, p. 416.

[2] See Dr A. S. Peake, *Century Bible, in loc.*

[3] *Enc. Bibl.*, 4000.

[4] *Enc. Bibl., ibid.*

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[1] C. 350 B.C. (Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, ii. 91). Notice that Deinon does not call them Magi, but "Median soothsayers."

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[1] See the whole passage below, p. 409.

[2] A full account of the ritual is given by Prof. Mills and Dr L. H. Gray in *ERE*, ii. 424 f. See also the interesting description of Prof. Jackson (*Persia Past and Present*, 369 f.), who adds a plate of the fresh green tamarisk sprays he saw thus used by the Parsis at Yezd: the picture takes us nearer to the use of twenty-five centuries ago than any descriptions we have from the interval.

That in these Biblical passages the Magian cultus appears in company with usages derived from Babylon or other parts of the Semitic world is quite in keeping with probabilities otherwise ascertained: indigenous dwellers in Media and Babylonia, they had, as we have seen, a definite status in Babylon, as well as at the Median court. Indeed, we may even question whether we are not to seek for their origin further afield. Their most characteristic features are not at all Semitic. The method of disposing of corpses—and there are few racial features more permanent than those concerning the treatment of the dead—is as little Aryan as it is Semitic, if we are to determine Aryan custom by the practice of Iranians where it agrees with that of Indo-Aryans. It is characteristic of various barbarous tribes north of the 35th parallel and lying between the 45th and 70th meridian. In Strabo's eleventh book we have at least three cases which have a general similarity. The Massagetæ cast out those who have died from disease, to be devoured by wild beasts (p. 513). The Bactrians are somewhat more civilised (*μικρὸν ἡμερώτερα τὰ τῶν Βακτριανῶν [ἔθη]*) than the nomad tribes, but Onesicritus (*οἱ περὶ ᾿Ονησίκριτον*), who accompanied Alexander, says that those who were enfeebled by age or illness were cast alive to dogs kept for the purpose, called *ἐνταφιασταί*, and the chief city of the Bactrians is clean outside, but inside is full of dead men's bones. Alexander stopped this custom (p. 517). The Caspii in the Caucasus starved their septuagenarians to death and exposed their bodies in the desert. It was a good sign if birds dragged them from the bier, less good if beasts or dogs: if no creature touched them, they made it a bad sign (*κακοδαιμονίζουσι*, p. 520). Two parallels may be quoted from districts lying on or near the frontier of India. Aristobulus (*ap.* Strabo, p. 714) gives *τὸ γυψὶ ῥίπτεσθαι τὸν τετελευτηκότα* among the customs current in Taxila on the upper Indus, in curious juxtaposition with suttee, for which, however, he does not vouch so positively. It comes also among the Oreitæ, a wild mountain tribe in Baluchistan, as noted by Prof. Otto Schrader; and there is an interesting detailed resemblance in the accompanying ritual.[1] In ancient

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[1] See Dr G. B. Gray *in loc.* (*Internat. Crit. Comm.*), and Prof. J. G. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*[2], ch. x.

[2] It will be seen how superfluous is the emendation (?) of the Hebrew text offered by Prof. C. H. Toy in *Enc. Bibl.*, ii. 1463. I should note perhaps that I gave this explanation of the Ezekiel passage in 1892 (*The Thinker*, ii. 492): I probably got it from Haug, *Essays*, p. 4. The interpretation is accepted by Prof. Jackson (*Persia*, *l.c.*) and Dr L. H. Gray (*ERE*, ii. 424 n.). So also Mr J. J. Modi, *King Solomon's Temple and the Ancient Persians* (Bombay, 1908), p. 40.

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[1] *ERE*, ii. 16, quoting Diodorus, xvii. 105: "the kinsmen of the dead bear forth the bodies, going naked and carrying spears.

India, Prof. Rhys Davids observes,[1] "people exposed corpses to be destroyed by decay and birds and beasts. Children, bhikkus, kings, and Brahmans were burnt. Burial is not mentioned." As there is nothing answering to this in Europe, we have no reason to suppose that the practice was Indo-European. It is not likely therefore to be proto-Aryan, even though found among nomad tribes speaking Aryan languages: it seems essentially aboriginal. The same may be said of other Magian practices. We may safely regard them as an aboriginal folk, who retained under the influence of religion usages which were generated in a low state of culture. They gained, it would seem, a reputation for occult powers among tribes more advanced than themselves; and the retention of their characteristic customs was bound up with this reputation and the profitable results of it. That an inferior race may enjoy such privileges as powerful shamans, can be shown from parallels elsewhere.[2] Prof. J. G. Frazer cites for me the case of the Kurumbas on the Nilgiri Hills. These aborigines are employed as priests by the Badagas, who dread them

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Having laid the corpse in a coppice such as they have in their country, they strip off the apparel (*κόσμον*) that is on it, and leave the dead man's body to be devoured by wild beasts." A corpse-bearer in the Vendidad (8^{10}) must be naked: modern usage understands this to mean that he must substitute "Dakhma clothes" (Darmesteter *in loc.*). The stripping of the corpse itself is also (naturally) a feature of the Parsi procedure. See the full account by Prof. Söderblom in *ERE*, iv. 502–5, where other savage parallels are cited.

[1] In a letter to me (Oct. 1912): he refers to his *Buddhist India*, pp. 78–80. "The period is about 6th century B.C. to 3rd century A.D."

[2] I repeat here some material from my paper in the *Transactions* of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions (Oxford, 1908), ii. 92.

intensely, though strong enough to have perpetrated Μαγοφόνια on a large scale when convinced that the Kurumbas were bewitching them. Similarly in New Guinea "the Motu (immigrants) employ the Koitapu (aborigines) as sorcerers to heal their sick, to give them fine weather, etc. The aboriginals, as such, are believed to have full powers over the elements." Of course, the Magi may well have risen in the scale of culture since they first secured this reputation for mysterious power: the parallel case of the Brahmans in India will serve as an illustration. The success of these foreign shamans in securing a monopoly of the priesthood for a cultus wholly alien to their own is no difficulty when we consider the conditions. The Aryan Medes and Persians had known them for generations as skilled magicians and occultists; and when they volunteered for the work of the Persian *āθravan* and *zaotar*, which was confined to no special class,[1] the people would feel that they had a special guarantee of correct and effective ritual. It would be like the case of Micah, who exclaimed, "Now know I that Yahweh will do me good, seeing I have a Levite to my priest" (Judges 17^{13}). He could have performed the ritual himself, but it would now be much more certain to secure what he wished from it.

At this point it will be well to leave the Greek sources for the Persian. The Behistan Inscription tells us in detail about the usurpation of Gaumata the Magus, who pretended to be Bardiya (Σμέρδις in Greek), the younger son of Cyrus. Darius says that Bardiya was slain by Cambyses, his brother, the people not knowing of it. When Cambyses went to Egypt,

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[1] Cf. *Ys* 11^6 and 10^{15} (Geiger).

"the Lie" broke out in Persia, Media, and the other provinces. Gaumata appeared from Pishiyâuvâdâ, from the mountain Arkadri: the former is often supposed to be Πασαργάδαι in Persia. All the people went over to him, and Cambyses slew himself. The sovranty which Gaumata thus took from Cambyses had been from long time past in the Achæmenian family. No one, Persian or Mede or Achæmenian, could depose Gaumata, whom the people feared, lest he should slay the many who had known the real Bardiya. At last Darius called on Auramazda for help, and it was given: "with few men" he slew Gaumata and his foremost allies, in the Median province of Nisâya. Darius names his six comrades in the perilous enterprise towards the end of the Inscription (iv. 18). Here, as in the other essentials of the story, Herodotus is accurate, except for one of the six Persians' names, and the omission of the name of Gaumata, who is simply "the Magus." And even in the name which Herodotus wrongly inserts among the Six, we find that his mistake lay only in promoting too high a man who in an inscription at Nakš-i-rustam (*NR* d) figures as "bow-bearer (?) of Darius." It is clear that the historian was remarkably well supplied with authentic evidence as to events lying two generations before his own day.

One or two of Darius's comments on Gaumata may be noted before we pass on. It is said that Darius restored "sanctuaries which Gaumata the Magian destroyed." I have discussed elsewhere the nature of these *āyadanā*, which are not necessarily to be taken as shrines of the king's own religion. The Magian usurper, as was natural in a priest seizing temporal power, seems to have tried to stamp out the invading Aryan cultus, and very likely Semitic worship as well, so as to leave the indigenous cult without rival. Darius in restoring the temples of other religions, together perhaps with his own, was only acting with the statesmanlike tolerance we have seen in him already. Darius mentions four other restorations he accomplished, but these seem to be unconnected with religion. From Herodotus (iii. 67) we add the significant statement that the Magian "did great benefits to all his subjects, so that when he died he was lamented by all in Asia except the Persians themselves"—that is, presumably, the Aryan minority, whose unwelcome yoke the aboriginal Medes thought they had shaken off.[1] The long succession of revolts which Darius had to quell within the first year or two after his accession has already been called as evidence that the Achæmenian House had no popularity to start with: after eight years of Cambyses this was not strange. The Magian's usurpation was essentially an attempt to regain the ascendancy his caste had enjoyed under Median kings: see Hdt. i. 120.

As we have seen, it is not much less than a century later when we begin to hear of the Magi again. I have been using Herodotus already, but only for the history of a political event: what he tells us about the religious position of the Magi evidently comes from observation in a later period. From the first the Greek writers assume that the Magi were priests, with special skill in divination and oneiromancy. They were already essential for all priestly acts, and identified thoroughly with the Persian religious system. Moreover, from the fourth century down there are frequent allusions to Zoroaster himself as a Magus, and many of the foremost modern authorities have accepted this as probably true. It is, of course, admitted that no such assertion is made about him till between two and three centuries after the traditional date of his death, which, as we have seen (p. 17 f.), is the *minimum* antiquity we can allow him. In that period there was plenty of time for a mistaken identification to arise; and if my general theory is right the Magi would of course make it a central point of their policy to claim the Founder as one of themselves. Their chance of regaining power, of winning the position which Herodotus so truthfully makes them claim in their conversation with Astyages, was obviously—when the direct method of Gaumata had failed—to persuade the people that they were necessary to them for the due performance of the rites of a common religion. For this purpose they had to minimise the differences between their own religion and that into which they tried to insinuate themselves. Their ancient reputation as a sacred caste, already secure for many generations among the non-Aryan Medes, would win them easy entrance among the followers of a religion which in those days was ready to receive proselytes from any race.[1] Once thus established, they would point out that Zarathushtra, who had certainly performed some priestly functions (p. 116), was a Magus, and had handed down to them sacred lore. The guardianship of the Gathas would be claimed by them, and readily conceded when the Magian *bona fides* was once accepted. And so the enlargement of the Avesta, by the addition of a codified Law, was only a matter of time. We shall not, I think, be far wrong if we assume for a working hypothesis that the verse parts of the Avesta were *preserved* by them and the prose parts *composed* by them. At present it will be enough to point out how entirely congruous the ritual element in the Avesta is with the general character of Magian religion, and how incongruous with the spirit of the Yashts, still more with that of the Gathas. Incongruities in detail will come out as we proceed.

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[1] The historian shows he had information from popular sources, and not only from nobles.

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[1] In the Gathas we have the Turanian Fryāna accepted by Zarathushtra as one of the faithful. See *Ys* 46^{12}, and Wilhelm's notes, *ZDMG*, xliv. 151.

First, however, let me try to present the features of Magian religion which the priests could emphasise as common to them and the adherents of Iranian Mazdayasna. The picture of pure Magianism which we have secured from Ezekiel (p. 189 f.) includes sun-worship with eastward position, and the use of the *barsom*. Now this last, as we have seen, is an adaptation of Iranian usage. If we may take "the branch" literally, original Magian use involved holding a bough up to the face during the act of adoration towards the sun. The symbolism is obvious and natural. The Magi found the adherents of the unreformed Iranian cultus laying their offerings on a carefully strewn carpet of green stalks. They had only to emphasise the sacredness of this *barəziš*,[1] and so gather a number of these stalks in the hand to present before the deity: the application of a variant form of the old name completed the identification, and the old use faded away before it. Not immediately, however, for we remember that it was still in vogue among the Persians when Herodotus was gathering information, though the Magi had long established themselves in the monopoly of priesthood. That will serve to remind us how cautious they were in attempting to innovate. Of course we may leave open the possibility that in some other part of Iran the *barsom* was in earlier use. The Sun would be an obvious link to bind together religions even more distinct than the Magian and the Iranian, reformed or unreformed. One difficulty may be named. In Herodotus (vii. 37) the Magi comfort Xerxes in his alarm at the portent of a solar eclipse by telling him that the sun was προδέκτωρ for the Greeks, but the moon for themselves. This seems to imply simply that divination in Hellas depended on the sun—were they relying on the solar elements (real or apparent) in Apollo?—and among the Persians on the moon. In Babylonian religion Sin (the moon) takes precedence of Shamash (the sun),[1] but this will hardly help us. More to the point is perhaps the importance of the moon in its connexion with the *Urkuh.* Could we be more assured of the antiquity of the identification of Soma and the moon, we might regard this as a hopeful solution. I cannot suggest anything completely satisfactory, assuming that the historian's notice is correct: it is too strange to have been invented. But perhaps we may infer that in any case the sagacious Magi were depending on a Persian connotation of the moon as foretelling the future,

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[1] I assume that the Iranian word once meant what its Indian equivalent meant.

[1] Jastrow, *Relig. of Babylonia* (1898), 68.

leaving us free to believe that their own reverence was paid primarily to the sun. The sun, of course, took one of the first places of honour in all the phases of religion that we are discussing now; and we do not need to assume that it was the first place for all purposes that was assigned to the moon in these words, but only a special connexion with divination. Since the Magi were so specially concerned with interpretation of dreams, there is appropriateness in the function assigned to the queen of the night.

Closely akin to this is the honour paid to Fire. This was one of the proto-Aryan divinities, as appears from Herodotus (i. 131), and from the Vedic cult of Agni. Zarathushtra himself had retained this element in the religion, in so far that he had made Fire the foremost emblem of Deity, and the instrument of the eschatological "Regeneration." If then the Magi were in any sense fire-worshippers—to the same extent, for example, as the Scyths, with whom the Magi, if Iranians,[1] may well have been kin—they would find here a very obvious *point d'appui.*

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[1] It should not, perhaps, be assumed too confidently that the Scyths were Iranian in anything but language. Prof. J. G. Frazer (*Adonis, Attis, Osiris* 2, 246) says that "the Scythians seem to have been a Mongolian people." He brings an exceedingly close Mongolian parallel for the ghastly funeral custom ascribed by Herodotus (iv. 71 f.) to the Scyths. As an argument for the Mongolian affinity of the Scythians, it is discounted by other near parallels—Chinese, Patagonian, etc. — quoted in this context by Dr Frazer: he does not however cite the custom in proof of the affinity, which he simply states, without reasons, as probable. But it must be noted against this that Prof. O. Schrader, who on such a subject has paramount authority, speaks of "the Scythians, who, ethnographically, seem to represent a part of the primitive Iranian race, left behind or scattered westward, and who remained in more primitive conditions of culture" (*ERE*, ii. 16).

Two remaining points of contact may be put together in a sentence drawn from the conclusion of Wilhelm's important paper on "Priests and Heretics in Ancient Iran" (*ZDMG*, xliv. 142–153). He assumes that when the Avesta was written all Iranians were united in the worship of Ahura Mazdah, and perhaps even leaned towards Dualism; but the people of West and South Iran had another form of Dualism in which the cult of the stars took a more conspicuous place than it does in the Avesta. Some of the details here may perhaps invite amendment, but the essence of the sentence contains, I think, a central truth. All independent references to the Magi make much of their astrology. It will be remembered that popular etymology interpreted the name of Zarathushtra himself as ἀστροθύτης (p. 77). But apart from the special cult of Tishtrya and his fellow-regents, we find very little star-lore in the Avesta: there is, however, just enough to make the connexion. As to Dualism, we saw above (p. 125 f.) that we cannot use the term to describe Zarathushtra's theology, except by defining it in our own way. But the Magi may very well have been real adherents of a dualist view of the world. In the parts of the Avesta which we have provisionally assigned to them, nothing is more patent than the mechanical division of the world between creatures of the good Power and creatures of the evil. There is a very marked difference in spirit from the treatment of the subject in the Gathas. As we see elsewhere (p. 131), Zarathushtra's own doctrine of

Evil amounted only to a strengthening of the old Iranian doctrine of Truth as the highest virtue, with Falsehood as the sum of all evil. To that source of every wrong the Prophet attached a descriptive title, Angra Mainyu, which, however, he did not make into a real name. The fiend might almost as well have been called *Aēšma Daēva* (’Ασμοδαῖος) on the indications of the Gathas alone. It seems a reasonable conjecture that the Magi commended their own dogma of a division of the world between good and evil powers — a mere relic of animism, which gave birth to a dreary ritual of apotropaic spells — by adapting the Gathic titles of Ahura Mazdah and Angra Mainyu. The latter name, in fact, waited for the Magian counter-reformation to give it currency: its presence is a sure sign not so much of Zarathushtrian religion as of Magian adaptation of the same.

There are two points in which the classical writers testify with great clearness to a radical difference between the Magi and the Persians. They are expressed together in a sentence of Strabo (p. 735): *τοὺς δὲ Μάγους οὐ θάπτουσιν ἀλλ’ οἰωνοβρώτους ἐῶσι· τούτους δὲ καὶ μητράσι συνέρχεσθαι νενόμισται.* The first of these may depend on Herodotus (i. 140, see p. 398), though the omission of the *dogs*, which Herodotus and the Vendidad couple with the carrion birds, may possibly be significant. Strabo may have seen the "Tower of Silence" much as it is to-day, with vultures alone to operate. Herodotus, as we see elsewhere, insists that the Persians bury their dead, after covering them over with wax, possibly as a preservative: he is very emphatic on the difference here between Magi and Persians. This, of course, entirely agrees with the patent fact that the Achæmenian Kings themselves were buried. We may add another instance of burial from Herodotus, vii. 117. While Xerxes was at Acanthus, a member of the Achæmenian house named Artachæes died, a man of immense stature and powerful voice. All the army joined to make a barrow for him, and he was buried with great pomp. In obedience to an oracle the Acanthians sacrifice to him *ὡς ἥρωι, ἐπονομάζοντες τὸ οὔνομα.* One is tempted to recognise here the familiar sacrifice of the Yashts, *aoχtōnāmana yasna*, "with a worship in which the name is invoked." As a foil to these genuine Iranian usages, we have the tremendous emphasis with which the Vendidad thunders against any defiling of the sacred earth or sacred waters by contact with a corpse. In Farg. 1^{13} the burial of a corpse is a "sin without atonement" (*anāpərəθa*): it is Angra Mainyu's counter-creation to "the beautiful Harahvaiti" or Arachosia. It is noteworthy that this land, where the Magian writer complains that so heinous a sin is rife, lies on the confines of Iran towards India. In Farg. 3^{12} the joy of Earth is greatest where pious men have dug out most corpses of dogs or men. Quotations could be multiplied. In the original Median folk-tale underlying *Tobit* we shall see good reason to recognise in the heroes, father and son, the faithful performance of this duty towards the sacred Earth. Here then we can realise with complete assurance the establishment of a rite which belonged peculiarly to the Magi, and did not prevail among orthodox Zoroastrians till after our era, if we may judge by Strabo's evidence. Probably we should say till the Sassanian era, for the drastic religious changes which took place under those zealot kings are the first obvious opportunity for an innovation evidently most distasteful. The corollary suggests itself that the prose Vendidad may have been composed in that age: on this see p. 198.

The other Magian custom horrified the Greeks to much the same degree. If Xanthus Lydus can be relied upon, they knew of it as a peculiarity of the Magi as early as the fifth century B.C.[1] This is rather doubtfully endorsed by Herodotus when he remarks (iii. 31) that before Cambyses the Persians were not wont to marry their sisters. The form of the phrase rather suggests that Herodotus knew such a practice to be current at a later time. But he does not mention the Magi in connexion with this, and his silence suggests that he did not know of the practice as one prescribed by any body of teachers in the Persian Empire. The Xanthus fragment, decidedly our earliest witness for Greek knowledge of the matter, suggests some suspicion through the exaggeration of the statement: it may even mean that Xanthus also knew of Magian practice only by hearsay. Probably the Magi began their propaganda generations later, whatever their private practice was. In regard of this custom, modern Parsism, which has preserved the *dakhma*—an eminently sanitary, inexpensive, and even decorous provision in a country where vultures may be commanded, however repulsive on the first impression—has repudiated the *khvetuk-das* as heartily as any outsider could expect. The fullest argument against the imputation that incestuous marriages were belauded as a religious duty, whether in the Avesta or in the Pahlavi books, may be seen in a monograph by the distinguished editor of the Dînkart, Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana, *Next-of-kin Marriages in Old Irân* (London, 1888). It must be admitted, I fear, that the learned Dastur's argument against the evidence of classical authors is hardly capable of carrying the weight laid on it.[1] The hostile judgements upon the credibility of Herodotus, cited by him, have long ago vanished as fuller knowledge has shown us how remarkably good was the historian's information. And to cut out as a gloss the above-quoted statement of Strabo is a heroic expedient which only betrays the Parsi scholar's exceedingly pardonable bias. I cannot stop to discuss the matter here in its later developments, for Sassanian practice lies outside my period. Indeed, on my own definition the Vendidad ought likewise to be passed over, since it seems highly probable that this part of it is Sassanian. But an actual Avestan passage can hardly be overlooked. Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 1860—where see literature) is very positive that the institution is known to the Avesta. Under χ^v*aētvadaθa* he gives the etymology χ^v*aētu*, "kin," and *vadaθa*, "marriage," despite Justi's objection. So far I do not see how to question his case, but I would note that the word does not occur in any Avestan text that has a claim to come from the earlier age: I should myself be prepared to put the passages quite late. But when Prof. Bartholomae proceeds (*AirWb*, 1822) to make Queen Hutaosa the sister as well as wife of Vishtaspa, and to find evidence not only in the Pahlavi literature but in *Yt* 15^{35}, I feel the greatest doubt of the inference. In this Yasht passage—which is metrical—Hutaosa "of the many brothers, of the Naotara house," prays to Vayu that she may be "dear and loved and well received in the house of King Vishtaspa." Should we not infer that she was about to enter that house for the first time, as a bride? It is stated that both Vishtaspa and his Queen belonged to the Naotara family.[1] That would not make them brother and sister; and Darmesteter further remarks that the Bundahish (31^{28}) excluded

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[1] *Ap.* Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, iii. § 11 (p. 515): *μίγνυνται δὲ, φησίν, οἱ μάγοι μητράσι καὶ θυγατράσι κτλ.* The extract, said to come from the Μαγικά, goes on to accuse the Magi of practical promiscuity. Müller (*Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, i. 43) declares the fragment inconsistent with that preserved by Nicolaus Damascenus. I do not quite see why. But there are weaker points about it than this. On the authenticity of the Xanthus fragments in general, see the note on Diogenes *Proœm.* below, p. 412. Naturally, the fragments need not be accepted or rejected *en bloc*: we may claim liberty to take them one at a time.

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[1] See the criticism of Dr Casartelli, in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, 1889—continued in 1890. The bulk of the paper is a discussion of the strange Vedic hymn (*Rv*, x. 10), in which Yamî woos her brother Yama, just as Yimak woos Yim in a Pahlavi *Rivâyet* translated by West (*SBE*, xviii. 418 f.). Dr Casartelli infers that this late Vedic hymn is an attack upon a custom known to prevail in some neighbouring race—one, as I should put it, which was closely akin to the Magi.

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[1] Vishtaspa is called by implication a member of the *Naotairye* in *Yt* 5^{98}, a verse passage. The clan pray to Anahita for swift horses, and receive the gift—"Vishtaspa became possessed of the swiftest horses in those lands"—by matrimonial alliance with this house, it might be suggested! Vishtaspa's name was enough to bring him in where it was a matter of possessing horses (*aspa*).

Vishtaspa from this family.[1] "Perhaps he was considered a Naotaride on account of his wife" (*SBE*, xxiii. 77 n). Is it not more reasonable to take the Yasht passage in its obvious sense, and charge the Pahlavi glossators with the interpretation which would make the royal patron of Zarathushtra the first example of their much-lauded virtue? For that the practice is lauded in this literature is really beyond question. The paramount authority of E. W. West has fairly settled it,[2] and his demonstration gives all the more weight to his opinion that it is not proven for the Avesta. I refer to West's dissertation specially for his proof that the writers were urging on the people a practice which they would not receive. This is exactly the impression that the classical evidence makes. A rule peculiar to an alien tribe, strongly marked with traces of barbarous origin surviving into later days under the influence of religion, remained peculiar to them to the last. That instances occurred in the royal family is another matter. Herodotus makes no suggestion that there were Magi at the court of Cambyses, and his "judges" expressly declared that they knew no law permitting marriage of brother and sister. The king's own character is abundantly bad enough—or mad enough—to account for his act. Artaxerxes I. might be a similar case, though by this time the Magi could have intervened: there is no proof that they did. Personal viciousness, and an increasing jealousy of introducing foreign elements into the royal house, will be sufficient explanation of the cases where the infamous Cambyses' example was followed by later Achæmenians. The parallel case of the Ptolemies in Egypt is naturally recalled. Here, however, there was the incentive of native practice in their adopted country, against which the natural Greek instinct seems to have failed to plead.

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[1] *Bund* 31^{29} mentions Vishtaspa, but I see no reference to the Naotara family in the context as West gives it (*SBE*, v. 137).

[2] *SBE*, xviii. 389–430: *cf.* preface, p. xxviii f.

Next among the characteristics of the Magi we will take that which actually usurped their name, ἡ μαγικὴ τέχνη or μαγεία: so, for example, in *Wisdom* 17^{7}, *Acts* 8^{11}, to give two fairly early instances of the use of the name without any reference to the Magi. It is hardly necessary to stop and prove that the Magi were generally believed to be pre-eminently skilled in magic.[1] What concerns us here is that magic was alien to Zoroastrianism. Even in the Vendidad we have the statement (Farg. 1[13]) that Angra Mainyu created *aγa yātava*, sorcery, to be the bane of Haētumant, or Saïstân. Darmesteter (*in loc.*) observes that the district was half Indian, according to Masudi, "and Brahmans and Buddhists have the credit of being proficient in the darker sciences." Whether such credit is merited or not, it is obvious that a half-heretical population would be easily held guilty of "black magic," the only kind against which the ban would lie. Darmesteter quotes from the Great Bundahish the note: "The plague created against Saïstân is abundance of witchcraft; and that character appears from this, that all people from that place practise astrology: those wizards produce . . . snow, hail, spiders, and locusts." If this comment contains ancient material, it witnesses strikingly to a general hostility to the occult of every kind. The later parts of the Avesta, to which we are tentatively ascribing Magian authorship, contain elements decidedly magical. Note the prose passage in *Yt* 14[35], concerning the potency of a bone or a feather of the *vārəngan* bird. I would not press this argument too far, for the *yātu* who is so often banned in the Avesta need not on purely Avestan evidence be a magician in general, but only one who harms the faithful by Ahrimanian spells and sorcery.

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[1] E. Meyer (*Gesch. d. Alt.*, iii. 124 f.) reminds us that "magic" was attached to the Magian name from the middle of the fifth century. Yet the best Greek witnesses, Deinon and Aristotle, expressly say, *τὴν γοητικὴν μάγειαν οὐδ' ἔγνωσαν* (the Magi). In [Plato] *Alkib.* i. 122 *μαγεία* is defined as *θεῶν θεραπεία*. A good sample of the popular belief as to the powers of these famous shamans may be seen in a passage of the Baedeker of antiquity. Pausanias (v. 27^{3}, p. 449), after retailing a truly marvellous story of a bronze horse, caps it with a miracle "partaking of magic art" (*μάγων σοφίας*), which he declares he had seen in Lydia. He tells us (in Frazer's English) that "The Lydians who are surnamed Persian have sanctuaries in Hierocæsarea and Hypæpa, and in each of the sanctuaries there is a chapel, and in the chapel there are ashes on an altar, but the colour of the ashes is not that of ordinary ashes." He proceeds: Ἐσελθὼν δὲ ἐς τὸ *οἴκημα ἀνὴρ μάγος καὶ ξύλα ἐπιφορήσας αὖα ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν πρῶτα μὲν τιάραν ἐπέθετο ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ, δεύτερα δὲ ἐπίκλησιν ὅτου δὴ θεῶν ἐπᾴδει βάρβαρα* καὶ *οὐδαμῶς συνετὰ* Ἕλλησιν· *ἐπᾴδει δὲ ἐπιλεγόμενος ἐκ βιβλίου. ἄνευ τε δὴ πυρὸς ἀνάγκη πᾶσα ἁφθῆναι τὰ ξύλα καὶ περιφανῆ φλόγα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκλάμψαι.* Prof. Frazer tells us (*Introd.* p. xix.) that Pausanias was probably born in Lydia (2nd century A.D.). The "magic" is accordingly attested by good witness; and it is both harmless and (one would think) tolerably easy.

Oneiromancy is a department specially connected with the Magi in our Greek sources, from the time of the expedition of Xerxes. It was evidently one of the most prominent of their functions. But the word for "dream"[1] only occurs once in the Later Avesta with that meaning, and there is no hint that dreams were ever studied.[2]

Astrology has already been referred to as a great feature of Magian activity. Now a certain amount of astrolatry no doubt belonged to proto-Aryan religion. It is, however, astonishingly small. Here there is a patent contrast to Babylonian religion, and to Mithraism. The Tishtrya Yasht is the exception that proves the rule. In that hymn the prince of the fixed stars is certainly invoked, with the three co-regents of the other quarters of the sky. But there is none of the sheer inconsequence of astrology. In the country where the Tishtrya myth had its birth, the disappearance of Sirius in the sun's rays coincided with the season of drought, and soon after his heliacal rising the rains began to fall. To regard Sirius as a good genius who has been fighting a long battle with Apaosha, the drought demon, savours of *post hoc propter hoc*, but is quite reasonable as such notions go.[3] One other Yasht, that addressed to Rashnu, has a good many references to the stars, but these are not even mythological. The ubiquity of the spirit of Justice is brought out by invoking him from a series of places in earth and heaven where he may be. Three of the four Regents—Satavaesa is omitted perhaps by mere textual accident—are thus named, and the stars that hold the seed of the waters, the earth, the plants, and the Bull, the stars that descend from Spenta Mainyu.[1] I need not collect Avestan references to the stars, which are all on these lines.[2] There is never a suggestion in the Avesta that the destiny of the individual or the nation can be read in the sky. Whatever real astrology there was must be associated with the Magi apart from the orthodox religion.

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[1] χ^{v}*afna*, identical with *somnus*, Old Norse *svefn*: it survives in Chaucer's *sweven*. On its appearance in the Gathas, see *Ys* 30^3 and note there (p. 349).

[2] Nicolaus Damascenus (in Müller, iii. 399) makes the mother of Cyrus consult the Chaldæans about her dream: Wilhelm cites this (*ZDMG*, xliv. 153) in his evidence for the popular confusion of Magi and Chaldæans.

[3] The Greeks (*e.g.* Hesiod, *Op.*, 417 f.) traced the heat of the Dog Days to the fact that Sirius was shining by day, and so adding his influence to that of the Sun. The contrast between the results attained by infantile science and relatively sane mythology is instructive! The astronomical problem of the Tishtrya Yasht is discussed in Lecture I., p. 23 ff.

There is one curious phenomenon here which can only be explained on some such theory as I am advocating. The planets are malign influences in the developed Parsi system. Each of the great regent stars has a planet as his Ahrimanian antagonist.[3] And yet these "wandering stars," whose strange irregular motions seemed like an element of disorder in the sky, bore the names of the great Yazatas: Anâhît was Venus, Bahrâm Mars, Auharmazd Jupiter. The incongruity was noticed in medieval times. A Moslem writer quoted by Prof. Jackson[1] declares that the planets originally had the names of demons; but when Ormazd brought them under his sway he gave them new names. Our explanation will naturally be that Aryan and Magian elements are mixed here. The Anahita Yasht (*Yt* 5^{85}) links the goddess with stars; but the plural itself seems to preclude special association with the planet Venus, so that the Avesta does not help us. The names of the planets agree with the classical. There seems no inevitable reason why the planets nearest to us should be respectively the goddess of beauty and the god of victory, or that which only the telescope can prove to be the largest in our system receive the name of the supreme deity. The key is found immediately when we see that in Babylon Venus, Mars and Jupiter were respectively Ištar, Nergal and Marduk, which answer exactly to both Pahlavi and Greek. Prof. Cumont[2] shows how after the fourth century the ancient Greek names of the planets were gradually ousted by names evidently intended to answer to those already fixed in Semitic star-worship. We have, accordingly, very clear proof that when these names entered Parsi phraseology—and it should be noticed that there is no proof that this happened till a relatively late date—it was from Babylon. But whence came the notion that the planets as such were malign? Not from the Semites, for the sun and moon were of their company in Babylonian astrology, and I need not say how such a suggestion as this involves would have horrified the framers of Bundahish theology. Not from Aryans, who assuredly never saw demoniac features in "sweet Hesper-Phosphor" or the splendid Jupiter. We have here, I think, a significant hint that the Magi were strangers alike to Aryan and to Semite—a conclusion suggested by other evidence that has passed before us.[1]

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[1] Were the stars supposed to hold the seed of plants and animals from the notion that they were tiny holes in the firmament through which the rain descended?

[2] A speculation of Darmesteter's, endorsed with a query by Bartholomae, might be mentioned as a possible instance of the more developed astrolatry of the era of the Vendidad, regarded as largely Sassanian and built up by Magian influence. In Farg. 19^{42} it is conjectured that "the two *Mərəzu*, the southerly, the everlasting," may be a constellation, and the "seven Horns" in the same verse another. Justi guessed the Milky Way for the former. I am tempted to ask if we might pursue this throughout the verse by transferring to a heavenly ocean the Fish *Kara*.

[3] *Bd* 5^1.

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[1] *Grundriss*, ii. 666.

[2] *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans* (1912), p. 46. "Thus the names of the planets which we employ to-day are an English translation of a Latin translation of a Greek translation of a Babylonian nomenclature."

A similar double view seems to appear with regard to the classifying of Mountains. It will be remembered that they were creatures of Ahriman in the system described by Plutarch (p. 403): they are all to be smoothed out when the Regeneration comes. What, then, of Aryan worship on hilltops (Herodotus, see p. 391), or the commanding glory of Alburz and other sacred hills in the Avesta? Like the planets, I take it, they introduced irregularity into the balanced order of things, and so Ahriman must be held responsible for them. This ultra-logical idea conflicted with the prevailing instinct, as is shown by the fact that even the Bundahish preserves a trace of the other view: note the "fostering hills" of *Bd* 12^{41}. Since the mountains were sacred for Semites as well as Aryans, we may recognise here yet another hint that the Magi were neither.[1]

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[1] My friend Dr Vernon Bartlet has called my attention to the interesting discussion of this subject in Prof. Bousset's *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* (1907). The matter lies outside my chronological limits, but I must briefly refer to it. Bousset discusses the fact (p. 27) that "in Gnostic systems and mythology the highest Babylonian divinities, the Seven and the great Mother Goddess, are no longer the greatest divinities, but low demoniacal beings or half good and half evil, belonging to the *Mittelwelt*, or fallen from the world above." He brings out the agreement of later Parsism (p. 41 f.), noting how Gôcîhar and the "thievish Mûšpar (perhaps a comet)" have taken the place which sun and moon could not fill. He thinks the agreement of Mandaism and the Gnosis enables us to explain this by dating it from the time when Babylonian and Persian religion came into antagonistic contact. The Persians accordingly turned the revered Babylonian planets into demons—a theory resembling the discarded view of the relations between the Avestan *daēva* and the Indian *deva*. Prof. Bousset rejects almost with scorn Cumont's explanation that the "wandering stars" were malign from their very nature. But Cumont is, I think, indisputably right. This way of looking on the planets answers Magian thought exactly, as the treatment of Mountains will show. We can explain the phenomena by simply noting where essentially incongruous systems failed to mix.

If I am right in thus interpreting features where there is some definite evidence for differentiating Magian and Zoroastrian doctrine, I think I may go on to select others in which incongruity between Gathas and Later Avesta may be read in the same way. Here of course we shall have to ask whether the deviations from Zarathushtra are due to the Magian influence or represent simple reversion to the standpoint of the old Aryan religion. Generally this will give us little trouble, guided as we are by the truthful picture of Persian religion in Herodotus, when checked by the comparative method.

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[1] Clemen (*Prim. Christianity*, 165) brings Biblical parallels:—"In view of the rough and mountainous character of the land, it was natural in Persia to expect in the last days an earth entirely level: with this we may connect the prediction in Zec. 14^{10a} [where, however, the point is the *elevation* of the new Jerusalem over a vast surrounding plain] . . .; and in the Sibylline Oracles (iii. 777 ff.): '*All the paths in the flat land and the rugged hillocks and the lofty hills and the raging billows shall be smooth and navigable in those days.*' The Apocalypse also, I think, proceeds from this assumption; otherwise it could not depict the new Jerusalem as it does in 21^{16}."

I cannot see where the Sibylline oracle goes beyond Isai. 40^4, which Prof. Clemen wisely does not quote. Nor can I understand his inference from Rev. 21^{16}. For these reasons, though wholly willing to admit apocalyptic imagery as a field where Magian influence may have told, I do not include these suggestions in my discussion in Lecture IX.

Veneration for the sacred elements of Earth and Water was a common feature of both religions. We know this of the Persian, and we infer it for the Magian. The *Dakhma* was always explained as a device whereby Earth and Water could escape pollution from a corpse. Then worship of these elements in one form or another was so general in the countries where the Magi are found, that we should be justified in presuming it for them, were the evidence much weaker. Further, there seems a great difference in spirit between the Later Avesta and the relevant narratives of Herodotus in regard to these cults. A word may be added on the last head. The actions of Cambyses and Xerxes towards the elements became a very obvious stumbling-block when these cults were defined on Avestan lines. Cambyses profaned the Fire by burning the corpse of Amasis (Hdt. iii. 16): the scandal thus produced, duly recorded by the historian, may be safely assumed to be reflected from the ideas of his own time, assisted by the tradition of the horror caused in Egypt by the destruction of a royal mummy. Cambyses outraged the Earth by burying twelve Persians alive (iii. 35). Xerxes scourged the Hellespont and cast fetters into it (vii. 35). The words of his defiance should be noted, for they exactly bear out the explanation given above (p. 59), which was written without reference to this passage. "And King

Xerxes will go over thee, whether thou wilt or no; but to thee, as is right, no man doth sacrifice, for that thou art a foul *and salt* river." Contrast vii. 113, where the Magi sacrifice white horses (cf. p. 59) to the Strymon.

Now it is easy to plead that "the character of the royal sinner would make a lapse from orthodoxy not very surprising": it remains true, to continue my quotation,[1] that "the most probable explanation seems to be that the kings were transgressing only Magian orthodoxy, which had not yet entered the religion of the court and nobles of Persia, whatever may have been the case with the popular creed." That a purely Aryan cult underlies the history seems certain. The Aryans had no reverence for the sea,[2] for it was the Waters as sustainers of plant life that they worshipped. At his actual crossing of the Hellespont Xerxes was very reverential (vii. 54). At sunrise he poured a libation into the sea, and then threw after it the golden bowl out of which he had poured, with a golden tankard and a Persian sword to follow. Naturally he wished to avoid no precaution; but Herodotus expressly notes a doubt whether he was dedicating these gifts to the Sun—as the choice of time might suggest—or confessing remorse for previous sacrilege. More probably the historian has coloured the incident with Magian notions transferred to an earlier day. It would be absurd to make something affecting religion, in its deeper sense, depend upon the recorded conduct of creatures like Cambyses or Xerxes. But their very worthlessness suggests the expectation that they would not insult a powerful spirit like Earth or Sea if inherited or acquired superstition taught them to hold such in awe. The often-noted fact that all the Achæmenian Kings, good and bad alike, were *buried*, is decisive against the assumption that in their age the Magi had succeeded in teaching their own form of reverence to the Earth. Burial may even be presumed in a passage of the Gathas (see above, p. 163 f.). To Aryan minds the return of the corpse to Mother Earth may well have seemed the highest reverence. Strabo tells us (p. 520) of a savage tribe in the Caucasus, the Derbikes, who venerated the Earth, but buried their dead—or those of them whom they did not eat! That Aryans could venerate Fire and yet practise cremation is sufficiently shown by the usage in India. The whole conception of ritual pollution in these matters is understood at once when we recognise an alien notion coming from the Magi.

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[1] From my paper at the Oxford Congress of Religions (1908).

[2] Tiele cites the case of Tiridates travelling to Rome by land as evidence that the sea was Ahrimanian (*Religionsgesch.*, ii. 250). This would probably mean that a first-century Arsacide inherited an old Iranian impulse. The action would thus be in line with Xerxes' defiance of an element the Aryans never knew, and therefore never loved as the Greeks and the Germanic races have done. Our inference is that the sea was a creature of Ormazd for the Magi, like the other waters, and the horror at Xerxes is characteristic of them. But Tiele has unwarrantably ignored the reason assigned by Pliny (see p. 419 n., below), that Tiridates would not pollute a sacred element, as a sea-traveller must do. I do not press the notice of Herodotus (vii. 191), that the Magi sacrificed to Thetis and the Nereids, genii of the sea, for we are expressly told that they were prompted by the Ionians. But I feel convinced that Tiele is doubly wrong.

It is less easy to assign to its true source the Later Avestan doctrine of the potency of spells. It is a great departure from the spirit of the Gathas, the words of which were turned into spells at a very early period. The Avesta is not the only sacred book for which verbal inspiration has been claimed; nor is the day of *manthras* apparently done in religions far more widespread than Parsism. On the whole, we may well allow that both strata were responsible for this particular perversion of the Prophet's teaching. A Magian character in a matter akin to this may perhaps be recognised in the appropriation of a whole set of words to describe things and actions when connected with Ahrimanian creatures. I should not hesitate for a moment in attributing to the Magi a usage so completely in keeping with their manner of thinking, but for Bartholomae's tracing the germs of it in the Gathas: see *Ys* 51^{10} and note there (p. 385 f.). But a single occurrence of one or two words of this class, which may have actually suggested the later appropriation, is inadequate evidence that so peculiar a practice was in vogue in Zarathushtra's day. To divide words, like everything else, between the two great opposing Powers, is almost an inevitable sequel of the Magian theory.[1] Parallels may be sought in

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[1] There is one passage, *Yt* 5^{89}, where an otherwise Ahrimanian word is used of Ahura's creation, viz. *bizəngra*, "biped." So far as this goes, I might infer that the system was not stereotyped in the Yasht period. The use of *marək*, "kill" (see below), in *Vd* 19^{6} brings an exception into the later stage. It may be convenient to cite some examples:

Head	(Ahuryan)	*vaγδana*	(Ahrimanian)	*kamərəδa*
Hand		*zasta*		*gav*
Foot		*zaŋga*		*zaŋgra*
Eye		*dōiθra*		*aš*
Ear		*uš*		*karəna*
Son		*puθra*		*hunu*

various quarters. It is tempting to compare Homer's statement that the gods called the river Xanthus, but men Scamander; or that the gods called Moly a herb which unfortunately men do not seem to have named or identified. Nearer to some of the examples in the note below is the euphemism by which the Sabines called a wolf *hirpus*, which in Latin (*hircus*) has its proper meaning "goat." Much illustration of the principle is cited from uncivilised peoples by Prof. J. G. Frazer in ch. vii. of *The Golden Bough*^{3}, part ii. The particular application of it with which we are here concerned has, however, features wholly peculiar, and thoroughly characteristic of the Magi.

For by this time we can hardly hesitate to assign to Magian theology the systematic division of the

To die	(Ahuryan)	*raēθ*	(Ahrimanian)	*mar*
To speak		*vac*		*dav*
To run		—		*drav*
To go		*ay*		*dvar, pat* (and compounds)

To "conquer" the forces of Ahriman is *van*, to "kill" the creatures of Ormazd is *marək* (see above). And so on. How little original are many of these names is obvious. The verbal root which describes the dying of Ahriman's creatures actually enters into the name of the Amshaspand Immortality. *Kamərəδa*, "pate," with its depreciative prefix, is the only one in the above list where any particular reason is visible. A very similar principle may be seen in the names of three animals where we infer that Mazdayasnians and Daevayasnians (and pious people when they forgot?) used different words. "Evil-speaking people" use the popular, non-theological names for the Ahuryan creatures hedgehog and cock—*dužaka* and *kahrkatāt* instead of *vaŋhāpara* and *parōdarš* respectively. They also use the pet (abbreviated) name *zairimyāka* for the tortoise (*zairimyaŋura*, "keeping his toes in his shell"), an animal which the Magi handed over to Ahriman.

world and all that is therein, each creation of Ahura being matched by one from Angra's hand. The very fact that the balancing was often incomplete suggests that it was attempted in the latest period of development. The Magi never took very kindly to the Amshaspands, who play a small part in the Avestan texts which we have assigned to their authorship. But, as Plutarch's evidence shows (see p. 401), they duly created a *daēva* to be special ἀντίτεχνος to each one, though it was so perfunctorily done that the shadowy antagonists provided by Magian theory are invisible in all earlier texts; and as they stand in Pahlavi theology they fail to have any special appropriateness for their several functions.[1] It should be noted that the tendency to balance each creation of Ahura with one of Angra suggests origin in a type of dualistic theory which existed early in Babylonia. When the Second Isaiah says in Yahweh's name, "*I* form the light, and create darkness; *I* make peace, and create evil" (Isai. 45^7), we may recognise in the doctrine implicitly rebuked that of teachers essentially akin to the Magi. It should, however, be observed that the existence of such a dualistic tendency within the field from which he drew his observations does not prove any nexus between the Magi and Babylon, unless in their accepting Babylonian ideas as they accepted Persian. But the dualism in question may quite well have been Magian and not

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[1] See on this subject Jackson in *ERE*, iv. 620. My statement above is not at variance with the general doctrine that the Magi were responsible for bringing out of the East everything that the West came to know about the Amshaspands. How much they transformed them may be seen from the Cappadocian evidence.

Babylonian at all: in that case Kohut's "Anti-Parsic polemic in II. Isaiah"[1] is only mistaken in its identifying Magian and Parsi.

Finally, one can hardly question the responsibility of the Magi for the ritual, or very nearly all of it. Zarathushtra, if we are to judge from the Gathas, resembled the rest of the world's great prophets in his indifference to anything of the kind; and native Aryan religion had only a simple system which would easily yield to the elaborate, under stress of the tendency which everywhere stimulates the growth of the externals of religion. Much of the ritual is of a kind which Eastern priests take pleasure in devising, perhaps with small expectation of its being undertaken. This especially applies to the rules that are to govern women, rules very obviously man-made: it appears, however, that Parsi women still yield partial submission to some of the most trying of them. The large use of *gaomaēza* (*qs.* *βοόμιχμα) is rather hard for outsiders to stomach; no doubt *chacun à son goût*! The sacredness of the indispensable ox and cow is an Aryan feature just as much as it may have been a Magian: here the Semites, too, were entirely in accord. But we naturally cannot dogmatise as to where they would draw the line in practical application. Another point of difficulty is raised not infrequently in the Vendidad, where penalties are often so extravagant as to make the reader infer that they never had any particular meaning. Perhaps the lowest depths of absurdity are sounded by Fargard xiv, where is set forth the manner in which the slayer of a "water-dog" or otter may "redeem his own soul." Darmesteter may well be right when he says, "These exorbitant prescriptions seem to be intended only to impress on the mind of the faithful the heinousness of the offence to be avoided." If language were intended to mean anything, we might think that, as the penalty starts with 10,000 stripes with each of two kinds of whip, the piled-up complications that are to follow do not really matter very much. But to appreciate the elevation of the Gathas the reading of this section of the Vendidad may be found of educational value.

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[1] See his paper, *ZDMG*, xxx. 709. The idea was first broached by Saadya (Cheyne on Isai., *l.c.*).

I venture to present at the close of this argument some tentative suggestions which have occurred to me after hearing my friend the Rev. John Roscoe on the central African tribes, of which he has a unique knowledge. Their points of contact with the Magi may be variously interpreted. Mr Roscoe shows that the kings of Uganda belong to a stock (the Gallas) which has left very strong traces in Egypt; and it might not be utterly impossible to postulate some very early connexion with aboriginal tribes on the other side of the Persian Gulf. But the discussion of such prehistoric conditions must be left to experts. The parallels are presented here simply because they illustrate remarkably well the cultural stage which was crystallised by religious conservatism in the Magi.

First may be mentioned the use of *gomez*, which is regular among the pastoral people of Bunyoro, a northern Bantu tribe. In connexion with this we may place the Waganda use of the urine of the parents of twins in purificatory ceremonies, such a birth being regarded as pre-eminently fortunate, if both the twins live. This is remarkably like a prescription of the Vendidad (8^{13}), by which a man and woman who have contracted the next-of-kin marriage may supply urine that is a permitted substitute for *gomez*. We might, indeed, say that the ceremonies for purification of the relatives after a death, in which *gomez* is the chief agent (*Vd* 8–12), have a striking general resemblance to the equally tedious and elaborate lustrations practised among the Bantu tribes.

Next comes the fact that the people to whom we may specially trace the last-mentioned rite practised endogamy. The Baganda are strictly exogamous, but their kings, like those of the pastoral tribes, made their sisters queen. For generations past, before the coming of Christianity, there had been no children of these marriages; the king had a number of wives from the common people, whose sons were ultimately destined to fight for the succession. But doubtless in earlier times a genuine *Khvetukdas* was the rule.

We may even parallel the Magian usage which the horrified Greeks always associated with this, the institution of the *Dakhma*. For though the Bantu peoples regularly buried their dead, and regarded each clan as responsible for the placating of their kindred ghosts by a strict ritual of inhumation, we are told that human sacrifices were an exception. Men and women who had been slain in sacrifice were left unburied because they no longer belonged to their clan but to the gods. (In some cases provision for the corpse was anticipated by the exposure of victims alive to sacred crocodiles, with their limbs broken.) Now to be thus sacrificed was regarded as a specially privileged end: those left unburied because given to the gods had in this seeming neglect a happiness all their own. We might say, accordingly, that in the Bantu mind the exposure of the corpse might be associated with the most certain entrance into the home of the gods; and this of course would bring them near the ideas of the Magi.[1]

A fair parallel to the Fravashi may be brought in here instead of being kept till Lecture VIII. Royal children in Uganda have what is called a "twin," regarded as an inseparable part of themselves. It is the umbilical cord, which is carefully preserved and placed with the jawbone—the seat of the spirit—after death, to be venerated as jointly representing the dead man's personality. The affinity with the external soul is clear; but I think the Fravashi is recognisable on one of its sides, and there is the suggestive parallel for the union of soul and Fravashi at death. The affinity of the "twin" with the plantain flower may also be noted, for the latter is certainly an external soul.

The extinction of fires when the king dies may be compared with the care taken in Magian religion to keep Atar from pollution of the dead. There are other less notable parallels. The general impression produced by the combination of similar characteristics is that while actual connexion of

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[1] Among other savage parallels should be placed that quoted by Dr Casartelli from Abercromby's *Trip through the Eastern Caucasus* (London, 1889), p. 291. In the last stages of proof-correcting I see in the newspaper a Reuter telegram (dated 13 Sept. 1913):—"It appears that Mongols never bury their dead, but place the bodies in the open fields, where they are usually devoured by wolves and vultures."

Magian and Bantu would be hard to establish, the usages compared may illustrate strikingly the fact that the Magi stereotyped for religious purposes a number of practices characteristic of a low stage of civilisation. The number and quality of these strengthen our inference that the Magi were neither Aryan nor Semitic, but remained on a distinctly lower plane than either until a relatively late period. Of course, the mere existence of isolated survivals from savagery in itself proves nothing: my inference depends on a cumulative impression. The fact that the Baganda had no temples for the Nature-gods—rivers, trees, lightning, etc.—but only for ghosts, suggests at once the Persian parallel in Herodotus (p. 391 below).[1] Divination by the entrails of fowls or cows links the Bantu with the Greek, as does the pot in which *χοαί* were offered upon a tomb. And we remember pre-eminently the discovery by Mr Roscoe among the Bunyoro pastoral tribes, and that by Dr Seligmann among Sudanese, of the long-sought and most striking parallel for the King of the Wood at Nemi, in emphatic confirmation of Dr J. G. Frazer's intuition. These parallels, however, are less varied than those traced for the Magi. With this cautious note we may leave the fertile anthropological field of Central Africa and return to Western Asia again.

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[1] The primitive Indo-European community was similarly without temples for the **deivōs*. See Schrader's account of the evolution of shrines, *ERE*, ii. 46 f.

LECTURE VII

THE MAGI (*continued*)

> The ancient Magians existed already before the time of Zoroaster, but now there is no pure, unmixed portion of them who do not practise the religion of Zoroaster. In fact, they belong now either to the Zoroastrians or to the *Shamsiyya* sect (sun-worshippers.)
>
> —ALBÎRÛNÎ.[1]

WE pause a moment to take note of consequences that have accumulated from our inquiry, when combined with those in which we have tried to trace the thought of Zarathushtra himself. The conclusion has become increasingly clear that very little genuine Zoroastrianism percolated to the West before the Sassanian age. Through Herodotus, and to an incomparably less degree through other travellers, the Greeks knew something of Iranian religion, untouched by the Reform; and the same, when contaminated with Semitic accretions, so as to form what we call Mithraism, became extremely powerful in the Roman world. On the other side the Magian system supplied abundant traces of its influence in many of the sources we have examined. Two examples from the Greek Bible are reserved for special study later in this Lecture and the next. A Magian folk-story, with practically no distinctively Zoroastrian feature, is found to underlie the *Book of Tobit*. And the familiar story of the Wise Men from the East is found to owe less than we should like to the Prophet of Iran, drawing its most noteworthy features from things peculiar to the Magi. Such phenomena lend what plausibility can ever be made out for paradoxical theories of late dates of Avestan texts. The real deduction should rather be that the religion of the Gathas—and to some extent that of the later and metrical texts and the Gatha Haptanghaiti—did not effectively occupy Western Iran till Sassanian times. A few of its doctrines came through, suffering some obscuration in the process; and the Founder's name and those of his chief conceptions became known, but hardly understood, for they were interpreted very much along Magian lines. The doctrine of immortality was the main exception; but even there we trace nothing distinctive of its Gathic setting, which would have deeply interested Greek thinkers. Our evidence gives us little to encourage the high hopes entertained by scholars who think to find in early Parsism a solution for many a problem of the history of religion. I have myself tried hard to build the necessary bridge, but I have to confess it does not seem strong enough to bear the hosts that would fain cross over. Not in the barren times of the later Achæmenians, the alien Greeks, or the indifferent Arsacides did the Avesta come fully out of its Eastern realm and win the attention of the West. And when it did thus come, most of the effects it was supposed to have produced were already a matter of history.

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[1] P. 314 (ed.[1] Sachau): cf. Jackson, *Zoroaster*, 141. In 1000 A.D., accordingly, there were still, as Albîrûnî says, representatives of "the ancient people of Ḥarrân," who remained distinct from the Zoroastrians, as we have seen a part of the Magi had remained in ancient times.

There are some outstanding questions relating to the Magi which we may take up before we apply what we have learnt to the peculiarly interesting problem of the *Book of Tobit*. We have tried to isolate the Magi for separate examination, and have noted several remarkable peculiarities of belief and habits which distinguish them sharply from Aryans and Semites alike. Their curious doctrines concerning the planets and the mountains were seen to be as hard to reconcile with Aryan or Semitic affinity as their notorious enthusiasm for the next-of-kin marriage and their method of disposing of the bodies of the dead. We must pursue the inquiry further, and try to set the Magi in their proper ethnographic place.

And first as to the evidence from language. We have in Herodotus (vii. 62) a statement that the Medes were originally called Ἄριοι. When the Colchian Medea came to these Aryans from Athens, they changed their name. "And the Medes themselves thus speak of their own history." In all this we can hardly acknowledge more than that Herodotus is duly telling us what he had been told. Moreover, four chapters later, he uses the name Ἄριοι (as in iii. 93) to denote the people of *Haraiva* (as Darius calls them), living south-east of Parthia: this suggests the possibility that he may not always have kept these names distinct. But I am not anxious to labour the point: Herodotus may very easily have been reproducing the proud declaration of an Aryan Mede that his own people had been named *Ariya* from of old. The historian's own notice (i. 101) as to the tribes of the Medes is much more important, since he gives six tribal names which seem to be genuine, if we may accept Oppert's or Carnoy's identifications. These assume that all the names are Iranian, which is of course at least witness, as far as it goes, for the position of Aryan speech in the country. But here again we need only recognise that Herodotus got his information from Aryans, who gave him the names they themselves used. Now the tribes (γένεα) were Βουσαί, Παρητακηνοί, Στρούχατες, Ἀριζαντοί, Βούδιοι, Μάγοι. It is a natural *prima facie* inference that if one of the tribes was "Aryan" (*ariya-zantava,* from *zantu,* "clan"), the rest were not. But we have to define "Aryan," and we must admit the strong probability that here it keeps its primary meaning of "noble." Not that there is any remembrance of an original etymology—which etymology may indeed be only a myth itself,[1]—but merely a survival of the hard fact that the sturdy invaders from the North were (like so many other conquerors) a relatively not numerous clan, forming an aristocracy like Homer's Achaians or the Normans in England. If "Aryan" is to be used in its modern scientific sense, with limitation to language only, we may still be free to suppose that some others of the Median γένεα spoke Old Persian or a closely kindred Iranian dialect.

So we turn to the Behistan Rock and ask what it can tell us. Bagištana is in Media, and it may be assumed that the three languages of the Inscription would between them reach the whole population of

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[1] See on this, p. 4.

Media. These are Old Persian, Assyrian, and Susianian. Old Persian was accordingly adequate for all the Aryan-speaking people who would see the Inscription: there was no use for Gathic or Later Avestan—a fact we shall find of importance later. But why were the other languages there? One, agreeing with that of the inscriptions of Susiana, closely akin to Elamite (Tiele), witnesses that Cyrus brought with him from Elam the progenitors of a population that kept up the old language, or found their kin already settled there. The other, Assyrian, necessitates our recognising Semitic colonies in Media. The general result must surely be that the five Median tribes which were not 'Αριζαντοί may have spoken the Semitic or the Elamite dialect, and so fall outside the limits of Iranian. I do not say this is proved, but only that Tiele (see next page) does not bring us far. If I am right in my reading of the Ezekiel passage (p. 189), we may reasonably expect to find the Magi spread far beyond the limits of Media, as indeed their affinities with certain aboriginal customs would encourage us to presume. In that case they would be at least as likely to use the Assyrian (as the Rab-Mag of course did, if he was really an *archimagus*) or even the Susianian language. Of course, we have always to remember that we decide nothing about their racial affinities by determining their language.

After defining the language of the Behistan Inscription, which stands between the Old Persian and the Assyrian, Tiele proceeds:[1]

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[1] *Religionsgesch.*, ii. 53 (p. 44 in Nariman's English version, which I only saw in the proof stage).

> It is very possible, indeed, that the indigenous population of Media, subjugated by the Aryans, spoke a language of the same family as the Elamite; but in the time of the Achæmenids and the Aryan dominion generally it was certainly no longer the recognised language of the country. The ruling population of Media was Aryan; the names of most of the kings mentioned by Herodotus, appearing partly also in the Old Persian cuneiform inscriptions, prove this.

But is not this mere assertion? How do we know that the population of Media was predominantly Aryan? Considerations just mentioned, reinforced by other significant evidence, suggest that our ethnography should recognise in Media at least two strains, a conquering caste and a more numerous aboriginal folk. The anxiety of Cambyses lest by Gaumata's success the kingdom should pass *to the Medes*—the manifest fact that Gaumata's usurpation was popular, in that it meant the triumph of the indigenous over the alien power,—these and cognate indications would seem to imply that Median was not simply a different branch of one Aryan stock, but the language of a people racially distinct from the Aryan Persians. And if Tiele really means to depend on the names of the Median kings as his central evidence, we may show the weakness of the case by simply turning to the history of Cyrus. He and Cambyses were most certainly Aryans, for they were Achæmenids, and they probably had Aryan names: there is at least as strong a case for this claim as there is for making Deioces Aryan. But Cyrus did not originally rule over Aryans, for his own Cylinder Inscription shows that he was King of Ansan. Who rules over Aryans need not himself be Aryan—or *vice versa*! Tiele thinks that the names of Median kings in the eighth century, down to the reign of Sargon II. in Assyria, are not Aryan in sound. The list of Ctesias, which Oppert tried to explain from what we now call the Susianian, he rejects, but insists on the Aryan character of Fravartiš (Φραόρτης), Uvakšatara (Κυαξάρης), and Dahyuka (Δηϊόκης). The last named is the subject of Prof. Sayce's naïve note (*Herodotus*, p. 62), "A reign of fifty-three years indicates its unhistorical character." Queen Victoria had nearly disposed of this argument when he wrote, or "indicated her unhistorical character." Assuming in preference that "the discoveries of recent years" have *not* quite "brought to an end," as Prof. Sayce declares (p. xxxiii), "the long controversy which has raged over the credibility of Herodotus," and that in all sorts of unexpected places the old historian gives us hints which enable us to solve problems otherwise hopeless, I should incline to read the history in a very different way from Tiele. Herodotus not only gives names of Median kings which may plausibly be interpreted as Aryan, but he tells a romantic story which connects Cyrus with the Median royal family. What if that story starts from a germ of truth after all? I am not proposing to rehabilitate Astyages as Cyrus's maternal grandfather. But I do think it possible that Aryan kings in Media may have been members of the same conquering race which under the early Achæmenids established itself in Elam. The ’Αριζαντοί, whose chieftains they were, become in this way a warlike tribe pushing west from the prehistoric home of both branches of the Aryans, and subjugating a weak native population, just as the

Achaians and the Dorians successively subjugated Hellas. I am not sure that the resemblance may not be something more than a fortuitous parallel. The eight-footer Achæmenid Artachæes (Herodotus, vii. 117) was probably typical of Persian physique, although of course an outstanding specimen; and it is hardly a wild flight of fancy to make the Persians cousins of the Achaians, sprung alike from the great Northern stock which gave big bones and muscles to Homer's Greece, dowered heretofore with little beyond brains.[1] But all this is in the nature of things highly speculative, and I return to what is certain. I only wish to claim here that the Aryan element in Media, as in Elam and Persis, is reasonably regarded as limited to a small but dominant race, which in parts of this area imposed its language upon the conquered, like our Saxon fathers when they invaded Britain. Strabo's statement (xv. 2. 8; p. 724) that Persians and Medes were ὁμόγλωττοι παρὰ μικρόν belongs to a period when Persian—now verging towards Middle Persian[2] —had become the prevailing language of the Arsacid kingdom. When, therefore, he says (p. 529) that the Medes call an arrow τίγρις (= LAv *tiγriš*), he is not contributing towards the refutation of our thesis. Indeed, the passage quoted above might even be turned in our favour, for Strabo expressly says that the name Ariane covers *partially* Persians and Medes, and Bactrians and Sogdians to the north, which are in fact nearly of one speech with (Persians and Medes).[1] It is not quite clear whether all four Aryan folk-names are subject to *εἰσίν*, or only the last two. But anyhow the Persians and Medes are assumed to be of Aryan speech, and yet there is still a qualification suggesting that the Aryan speech does not cover the whole of their area even in Strabo's day. The Aryan character of the Sogdians has been shown to us finally by the extensive new documents, but of course these are of a still later date. So also are the Manichæan MSS. from Turfan, which include Middle Persian and some specimens of a dialect supposed by Müller to be the language of Khorassan, "the refuge of the Manichæans" (Flügel).[2]

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[1] On this see my essay in the volume dedicated to Prof. Ridgeway, referred to above, p. 5.

[2] Cumont (*Textes et Monuments*, p. 11 n.) notes the name *Meherdates* in Tacitus, *Ann.* xi. 10, showing the Middle Persian *Mihir* for (Μίθρας) *Miθra*: the date at which this presumably young man is named as a candidate for the Parthian throne is 47 A.D. That is only two generations after Strabo.

I should not wish to press very far any conclusions that might be drawn from the affinities I have thus sketched. They lead us, I think, to realise more effectively the consequences of the fact that Media is the Western limit of Iranian language in ancient times. Except for the perplexing Indian (or Aryan) gods at Boghaz-keui and the assumed Iranian names of Mitanni chiefs, near the middle of the second millennium, we have no sign of Aryan language west of the forty-second meridian, to which limit the Medes and the Karduchi (Kurds) represent the Iranian branch.[1] Iranian speech manifestly claims more and more of the ground as we go east. It is, therefore, at least natural to suggest that Media was the resisting medium in which the Iranian migration westward was arrested, only a proportion of the population being affected by the language invasion from Persia. The net result is that linguistic probabilities tend to reinforce the inference, drawn above on stronger grounds, that the Magi were part of the indigenous population of Media. They may have been sooner or later assimilated to the Persians in speech, but in racial characteristics, and in customs preserved by them from a remote antiquity as a sacred tribe, they owe nothing to either Aryans or Semites, and are purely aboriginal.

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[1] *ἐπεκτείνεται δὲ τοὔνομα τῆς Ἀριανῆς μέχρι μέρους τινὸς καὶ Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων καὶ ἔτι τῶν πρὸς ἄρκτον Βακτρίων καὶ Σογδιανῶν· εἰσὶ γάρ πως καὶ ὁμόγλωττοι παρὰ μικρόν* (p. 724).

[2] There are some features in the scanty relics of this dialect which bring it nearer Avestan than the bulk of the MSS. Thus the numeral *four* is here *catfār* instead of *cahār* (*cajār* once, p. 46): *five* is *panj*, *pancamîk* (ordinal), against *panz*. One document (p. 101) shows the word *zāvar*, with the M.P. *zōr* (=strength) in the Pahlavi part of the same fragment: I note five other instances of *zāvar* in Müller's texts, and assume that these survivals are due to dialect-mixture. Specially interesting are the small fragments on p. 98 f. which give the *panj marḷāspandtîh*, "five holy elements"—the last word is doubtful; they are *'arṭāv fravartîy*, "pure ether (spirit)," *vāṭ*, "wind," *'arṭakhūūšṭ*, "pure light," *'āp*, "water," *'āṭar*, "fire." In the other texts (M.P.) we have *vād*, *'ab*, *adūr*. To *fravartîy* we must return, only noting here that both it and *arta* show *rt* against the peculiar Avestan *sh* (*aša*, *fravaši*). Once more we have *δβarā*, "door," which is nearer Avestan than *dar* of the M.P. texts. But these do not bring us yet anything peculiar to the Avestan dialect.

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[1] Can the Kurds represent a swarm of nomads that left the main stream and struck southwards before reaching the north of the Caspian? The Sarmatae, just the other side of the Caucasus, and the Ossetes who still hold the Caucasus region, mark this path of Iranian migration. We could account for the Iranian chiefs of the Mitanni in this way. As to Boghaz-keui, we must be content to wait for more information, and hold ourselves prepared to tear up some pet theories, if necessary, when it comes. On the Iranian character of Mitanni names I should be sorry to dogmatise. Have we really evidence enough? (Compare p. 423 n.[2].)

Having attempted thus to answer the question as to the affinities of the Magi on the eastern side of their native land, we may proceed to ask whether they had affinities on the west. It will be convenient to enlarge the question to include Parsism as we have it, whether Magian or Iranian, reformed or unreformed. How far, then, is Babylonian civilisation responsible for Avestan ideas? There is a strong party among Oriental historians who are bent on finding Babylon everywhere. I am not an expert in Semitic matters, and shall not even ask the obvious questions as to the evidence on which we are to regard the Babylonian mind as the one great original force in Oriental thought. But before I shut myself up within my own proper corner, I cannot help expressing satisfaction in some signs of the times. I am not listening for the shout, "Babylon the Great is fallen," from serried ranks of scholarship; but some check to the extravagance of a few learned enthusiasts is not unwelcome. My predecessor in this Lectureship, Dr Farnell, has in his *Greece and Babylon* rescued Hellas from absorption; and believers in the most original nation of history will read his concluding sentence with relief:—

> So far, then, as our knowledge goes at present, there is no reason for believing that nascent Hellenism, wherever else arose the streams that nourished its spiritual life, was fertilised by the deep springs of Babylonian religion or theosophy.

With this we may set the rebuke which professional astronomers have been administering to a distinguished group of Assyriologists who have built up a system of "Astral Mythology" without apparently thinking it necessary to learn some astronomy. The glory of Hipparchus as the first discoverer of precession has been restored; and with all our admiration for a pioneer civilising agency, we are no longer obliged to credit Babylon in the second or third millennium with the lead in every department of thought.[1]

So far as I can see, Parsism is as independent of Babylon as was Hellenism itself. Its silences are very eloquent. I may put first one that follows naturally on the topic just referred to. If Babylon was not quite so learned in star-lore as some enthusiastic imaginations have feigned her, there can of course be no question as to the prominence of astrology in her religion. And in Parsism this is most conspicuously absent. We have seen that the Magi had a great reputation as astrologers, but that it was in their own right: astrology never was at home in Parsism proper. Few sacred books have less about the stars than the Avesta. There is Tishtrya, the obvious exception that proves the rule. But it has been already observed that there is no suggestion of astrology in the use thus made of the most brilliant of the fixed stars—only a very natural mythology, accounting for the fact that Sirius disappears in the Sun's rays just during the hottest season of the year, the "dog days."[2] In early Parsism there is never a sign of that element which was so pervasive in Babylonian theology, nor does the later development show any invasion of the kind.

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[1] See the severe criticism of "Astral Mythology," by Mr E. W. Maunder of Greenwich Observatory, in the *London Quarterly Review* for October 1912.

[2] On this subject see p. 23 f.

Another pervasive element in Babylonian theology is the pairing off of deities, and the prominence of mother-goddesses. This is most significantly absent in early Parsism. The Greeks observed[1] that Persian religion knew no sex distinction among divinities, and for the most genuine Zoroastrianism this is strictly true. There is, of course, one very prominent goddess in the Avesta as we have it. Anahita claims a Yasht to herself, and it is apparently as old as any other Yasht. But that Anahita is a foreigner all our evidence converges to prove. In the time of Herodotus the cult was new, and the historian's blunder in calling her "Mitra"[2] suggests that she was at first simply a pendant to the great Aryan divinity, devised on the model familiar to the Semites. Herodotus himself asserts that the cult came "from the Assyrians and the Arabians." Her name, "the undefiled," is a cult title of a type familiar to us in Greek religion—as Ζεὺς Μειλίχιος and the like. But, as sometimes happens in Greek, there is considerable suspicion of popular etymology. Jensen[3] pointed out that the name stood as Nahitta in the Susianian version of the inscription of Mnemon, which might come from an Elamite Nahunti. Cumont[4] mentions as possibly connected the Semitic Anat, which Tiele also mentions, though preferring another connexion. In the same note (*Religionsgesch.*, ii. 255 n.) he even suggests that *Ardvî Sûra* ("moist and mighty," on

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[1] See Diogenes Laertius below, p. 413, and note there.

[2] See p. 394.

[3] In *WKZM,* 1892, p. 66. Cf. also W. Foy's discussion of the inscription in the same journal, 1900, pp. 277 ff.

[4] *ERE*, i., *s.v.* Anâhita. See further below, p. 394.

Bartholomae's view) was an attempt to translate the title *rubat bêlit*, often attached to Ištar's name. On some views of the meaning of *ardvī* this would not be at all impossible: if it were akin to Lat. *arduos*, the meaning "exalted lady" would bring it near enough to the Babylonian title in question. On this, however, I am not able to express an opinion, and will only say that *a priori* grounds for expecting both name and cult to be ultimately Babylonian are strong. This does not prevent its having been grafted upon an Iranian river-cult, specially connected with the Oxus. But the late arrival of Anahita upon the scene of Zoroastrianism, coupled with the express statement of Herodotus, makes her foreign origin fairly certain. We can even date the rise of the cult as an element in Iranian religion. Artaxerxes Mnemon is the first of the Achæmenian Kings to name any god but Mazdah, and he prays to "Auramazda, Anahita, and Mithra." Three times in the Old Persian inscriptions he names the deities in this order, with the Mother-goddess significantly before the old Iranian deity, who was apparently being used[1] to cover her advance. (It may even be significant that Artaxerxes III. (Ochus) names only "Auramazda and the god (*baga*) Mithra": among Iranians the cult of the Mother was not likely to thrive greatly, and Mithra might easily carry off her spoils, after having been reintroduced very largely in the character of a male counterpart for Anahita on the Semitic model.) Now we read in Berosus[2] that Mnemon was the pioneer in introducing images of the gods, and the worship of Anaitis, whose statue he set up "in Babylon, Susa, and Ecbatana for Persians and Bactrians,[1] and Damascus and Sardis." We can hardly doubt that in the Yasht dedicated to Anahita we have a description of her drawn from one of these statues—a useful incidental evidence for the dating of the Yashts. How she took over functions originally appropriate to the Fravashis in the unreformed Iranian religion, and to Haurvatat and Ameretat in Zarathushtra's system, is explained elsewhere.[2]

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[1] If the mistake of Herodotus in calling her Μίτρα may be explained as on p. 238.

[2] Fragm. 16, *ap.* Clem. Alex., *Protrept.*, v. § 65 (p. 57).

In this conspicuous but late feature of the religion, then, we may frankly acknowledge a debt. This, however, is clearly not enough to account for Prof. Eduard Meyer's emphatic statement that "Babylon . . . influenced most strongly the civilisation and religion of Iran." When we turn to Meyer's *Geschichte* we find that the statement just quoted may easily be misunderstood.[3] He insists that the influence belongs to the Persian period. Babylon was responsible for fixing the Amshaspands as *seven*—answering to the planetary deities,—but had nothing to do with their original conception nor with that of the Indian Âdityas, as Oldenberg would like us to believe. In fact, the religious elements assignable to Babylonian influence, on Meyer's own showing, are so late and so relatively unimportant that it is not quite easy to see how his compendious statement of the extent of that influence can be acquitted of exaggeration—perhaps in the process of Anglicising his article for appearance in the Encyclopædia!

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[1] We should connect this with her Iranian origin as genius of the Oxus river. Meyer, however (*Gesch.*, iii. 126), renders "in Persepolis and Baktria": the text seems corrupt.

[2] Compare the argument at the close of Lecture II.; and on the relation of Anahita to the Fravashis and the last two Amshaspands, see p. 271 f.

[3] See especially iii. 126.

A few lines should be given to this matter of the Heptad, a subject which has already been discussed (p. 98 f.). We have seen that the Hymns of Zarathushtra are full of the divine attributes which at a later period were collected into a sacred hexad, with the name *aməša spənta* (Amshaspands), or "Holy Immortals." But the Gathas do not even give us a hexad: there are other abstractions there with the rank of *ahura*, and we have no statement which would show us where to draw the line. There is accordingly an innovation when with the prose "Seven Chapters Gatha" the Amshaspands are collected into one body with a special name. And when in the Yashts, later still, we find Mazdah associated with the Six to make a Heptad—or Sraosha added to their company so as to produce a body of "seven spirits before the Throne,"—we are naturally inclined to recognise influence from the Babylonian planetary gods. It is worth noticing that when at a very early date the name of Mazdah himself was borrowed by the Assyrians,[1] he was connected with seven *Igigi*, spirits whose "sevenness" may very well have supplied the hint for post-Gathic Parsism. As Tiele-Söderblom (p. 227 f.) suggests, we may possibly recognise Semitic influence in other Indian and Iranian sevens. When, then, Cheyne and Gunkel claim for the Semitic side what proved the ultimate form of Persian

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[1] *Assara Mazāš*, see p. 31.

"archangelology," we may acquiesce without reluctance.

Two suggestions of Spiegel[1] have been taken up by later writers. Prof. Meyer thinks that the pure Zarathushtrian system made every man meet an individual judgement three days after death: in contrast with this stands the idea of a general day of judgement, which must therefore be an importation. We must reserve the "Great Transaction," as it is a Gathic conception, which, however, would on the Prophet's own scheme be a new beginning for the world as a whole, and need have no relation to the individual. If the Semitists care to claim the impulse that brought the individual into this scheme, no harm is done. Prof. H. Zimmern[2] thinks the idea of an end of the world by fire is probably Babylonian. His only evidence is Berosus (in Seneca); and one would like to ask of those who think the *ayah χšusta*[3] borrowed, whether the Stoics must also have borrowed their ἐκπύρωσις. We should need very good evidence indeed to prove Babylonian influence upon Zarathushtra's own teaching, such as this one suggestion would involve.

Two smaller points may be added from Gunkel[4]—the assignment of each month and each day to its special genius; and the recognition of four "regent" stars, one in each quarter of the sky, as seen in the Tishtrya Yasht. The former may have been in operation in the early Achæmenian age, and has of course no connexion with Zarathushtra. The latter, with anything else that implied a careful observation of the stars, might as well come from the Magi as from Babylon. Prof. Gunkel's next point, that "the division of world history as a world-year into four great ages is probably found in Berosus, and depends on the Babylonian observation of solar precession," must, as shown on p. 237, drop its last element under the astronomer's proof that the Babylonians knew nothing whatever of precession till they could learn it from Hipparchus. As we see below (p. 404 f.), there is very great doubt whether the Four Ages entered Parsism before the Sassanian epoch.

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[1] *Eran. Altertumskunde,* ii. 165–7.

[2] In *KAT*^{3}, 560.

[3] See Lecture V. for this and other eschatological ideas here alluded to.

[4] *Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des N.T.*, pp. 17 and 8 n.—the former from E. Meyer.

There may be other features of Later Avestan religion in which Babylonian influence could be reasonably suspected. I have no desire whatever to contest them. The complete freedom of "Early Zoroastrianism" from such influence comes out more and more clearly from the inquiry, and constitutes a new proof not so much of its antiquity—for to outdo Babylon in antiquity we should need to put Zarathushtra back with the classical writers to 6000 B.C.—as of its geographical separation. We might even present some items to make a case for borrowing in the opposite direction. There is, as already observed, an adaptation of the Iranian divine name to the Assyrian pantheon, and the date must fall in the second millennium. With this may be set the fact that the winged solar disk as a symbol of deity was borrowed from Egypt alike by Achæmenian Persians and by Assyrians. Whether independently or not, and by which people first, I have no qualifications for deciding.

The possibility that Babylon infected the Aryans in their prehistoric unity has been mooted by notable scholars, of whom we need only name Johannes Schmidt and Hermann Oldenberg. The former devised, a generation since, the one argument, worth calling an argument, which has ever been urged in favour of the old assumption that the Indo-European *Urheimat* was in Asia. Schmidt found certain contacts between the Indo-European numeral system and the Babylonian sexagesimal reckoning, and one or two in the culturally most important field of metals. The inference was that our language-family must have radiated from some region within reach of Babylonian civilisation. But Hirt proved that the peculiarities of our numeral system showed really a duodecimal system, not a sexagesimal, crossing the decimal at certain points: our own *eleven* and *twelve*, against the 'teens, are enough to illustrate it. And one or two similarities in the names of metals can clearly prove nothing. We know too well what the long arm of coincidence can achieve in language to rest far-reaching conclusions upon much closer resemblances than these.

Prof. Oldenberg's venture[1] is less daring. He asks whether the contrast of Varuṇa and Indra, the ethical and the mere elemental divinity, may not betray signs of contact with the West. The Semites reached an ethical view of life earlier than the Indo-Europeans: is it a mere chance that suspicion of Semitic influence should suggest itself here in the similar tone of an Accadian-Babylonian hymn to the Moon-god, and in Vedic hymns to Varuṇa, who for

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[1] *Religion des Veda,* 195. See also p. 74 n. [1], above.

Oldenberg represents the moon? If Prof. Oldenberg is right—and his great authority prompts us to give any suggestion of his a most respectful hearing,—we should probably go beyond his actual proposal, and find the contact in the Aryan period. For obviously what is said of Varuṇa applies much more emphatically to Ahura Mazdah. But after all we find plenty of abstractions in primitive Roman religion, and ethical conceptions in the earliest Greek thought that we know. Themis and Ananke —the last not unlike Asha in some respects—were even independent of Zeus. Is it not at least unproven that an Indo-European people was wholly incapable of discoveries on these lines? A people whose worship included the Sky, loftiest of all nature-deities, and those ancestor-gods who are ever the most potent to stir up the feeling of a close bond between religion and conduct, had native material on which to work without help from the outside.

So we may, I venture to think, dismiss all round the notion that Parsism owes anything material to the religion of the powerful culture on her west. The conclusion would have been popular with the poets of the Yashts, who would certainly be slow to admit that they had borrowed from that quarter. Azhi Dahâka, the three-headed dragon, had his abode in *Bawri* (*Yt* 5^{29}): so early did the name of the great city acquire the sinister connotation it has held through many ages! In the light of that antagonism I cannot greatly wonder that only in secondary and inconsiderable matters the Parsi Bible took anything from Babel.

We must now turn to another field in which it will prove that Magianism has been at work. It takes us westward again, and the result of the inquiry will be to confirm by another line of evidence the case we have been constructing. Once more we find influences credited to "Persian religion" which turn out to have been almost exclusively Magian; and once more, by the unexpected absence of characteristically Zarathushtrian traits, we are led to comment on the meagreness of proof that the Iranian Prophet's doctrine had any real influence outside Eastern Iran before the Sassanian era. The establishment of this thesis, that the Magi are really responsible for everything in Zoroastrianism that influenced the Western world, is so important that we may reasonably devote considerable space to the new evidence on this account, quite apart from the intrinsic interest of the subject itself.

That there is some connexion between the *Book of Tobit* and Iranian religion has long been recognised; but the nature of that connexion has generally been read in what I venture to call impossible ways. I have been led towards an amended form of a theory I set forth some years ago.[1] In restating the theory I shall offer in support an attempted reconstruction of the story in what I conceive to have been something like its original shape. Since proposing my theory I have received unexpected and welcome encouragement from the discovery that it had helped a fellow-worker coming to the study of *Tobit* from another side. The Rev. D. C. Simpson, editing *Tobit* for the Oxford Apocrypha, had used my paper of 1900 in building up a theory that the book was written in Egypt at a considerably earlier date than some critics allow, and that an underlying folk-story was brought to Egypt by Persian soldiers of the time of Cambyses. His difficulty was the supposed presence of strictly Zoroastrian elements in this assumed original. Meanwhile I had been myself revising my own hypothesis, and had concluded (as will be seen below) that there is no need to postulate anything at all in the Median story that bears the stamp of Zarathushtra. My amended theory therefore removes the one difficulty in an account of the book framed on wholly independent lines. And simultaneously Mr Simpson's thesis fits in exactly with my independent view of the religion professed by Cyrus and Cambyses, as simply Iranian *daiva*-worship, without any trace of Zarathushtra's Reform. The date and history of our present *Tobit* does not concern me here, for I am only proposing to reconstruct out of it an Iranian story used in its composition. I previously assumed that this story came into Israelite hands in Media, where were settled the descendants of the Northerners deported by Sargon in 721 B.C. (cf. 2 Kings 17^6). But clearly Mr Simpson's view will suit my requirements equally well. I may content myself with referring to his argument, only remarking that Jews in Egypt are much more likely to have originated an edifying narrative of pure Yahwism than a community of the "Lost Ten Tribes" in Media, whose loss of nationality was confessedly due to apostasy from the national religion.

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[1] "The Iranian Background of Tobit," *Expository Times*, xi. 257.

Tobit moves in a Median atmosphere. Its scene is largely laid in Raga, "the Zoroastrian," as it was afterwards called. That it enshrines heterogeneous folk-lore is fairly obvious, and our theory only presumes that for a purpose which does not matter to us now—Mr Simpson has a very ingenious suggestion—this was used in the construction of a story adapted to Jewish ideas. The old Semitic folk-story of Aḥiqar is part of its material. And, as has been often recognised, the motive of "The Grateful Dead Man," found in the folk-lore of widely separated countries, lies at the foundation of the whole story, with the obvious substitution of an angel for the ghost—a substitution made easier by the fact that the folk-story in Media would naturally introduce the dead man as acting by his "double," his "angel" (Acts 12^{15}), or, in other words, his *fravashi*.

My theory is most satisfactorily expounded by a conjectural restoration of the Median story which I postulate as the original of *Tobit*. I have endeavoured, accordingly, in an Appendix printed below (p. 332 f.), to tell the story in outline, with notes to show my sources, and to point out the passages in *Tobit* which I am reconstructing, where these are not obvious from the sequence of the tale itself. My story, of course, pretends to no sort of authority: it only offers a specimen to show in what way the writer may have adapted his material. He found, we may suppose, a popular legend which with some not very serious modifications might be used among his own co-religionists in Egypt with clear possibilities of edification. Dr Rendel Harris's *The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends* gives abundant illustrations of a method of adaptation which has been fruitful in later days, though rarely, if ever, applied so wisely and well.[1] With such a purpose, quietly ignoring the features which his own religion could not accept, our author rewrote the *Märchen*, saying to himself the while,

> "Truth embodied in a tale
> Shall enter in at lowly doors."

Leaving, then, most of the details of my case to be gathered from the text and notes of my hypothetical "Median folk-story" as reconstructed below, I put together here a few general arguments in its favour. The case rests upon the broad fact that there are traces in *Tobit* of the most important factors in Magianism, as distinguished from the other strata in complete Avestan Parsism. Magic may clearly be recognised in the use made of the fish's heart, gall, and liver, though of course this is not specially distinctive. The extraordinary stress laid upon burial is most naturally explained as an adaptation from an original in which a leading motive was the proper treatment of the bodies of the dead. Kohut's suggestion that the insistence on burial is anti-Parsic polemic does not explain the language used. Alternative methods of disposal are not even hinted at. Then comes the other specially Magian practice, that of consanguineous marriages. Our author comes fairly near this when he cites the example of Abraham; but in his story he seems to contemplate the marriage of cousins, and his presumed Median original must have applied the doctrine in this way. Of course, there is nothing in *Tobit* even to hint at marriage within "prohibited degrees"—any more than there is a hint of the *dakhma*; but the curious coincidence that two of the most earnestly pressed morals of the Book concern the proper treatment of the dead, and the duty of marrying within the kin, is most naturally explained by such a postulate. The absolutely otiose *dog* which figures in the story, so utterly without meaning as it stands, and foreign to all the associations of the dog in Hebrew literature, bears out strongly our inference with regard to the former of these two Magian practices, always coupled together in the mind of Greek students of Persian customs. And as to the second, we find corroboration in the curious and illogical reasons, so often insisted on, for Tobias's being the husband marked out for Sarah by the law and the custom. The appeal to Num. 36[8], which figures in the marginal reference at Tob. 6[12], cannot bear this weight, for it only prescribes marriage within the *tribe*: we can hardly assume that the tribe of Tobit was so reduced that Tobias was the only young man available for Sarah as an heiress! If my reading is right, the original story had the *Khvetuk-das* in what has always been the popular form, current to-day as the Parsi exegesis of the Pahlavi dicta on the subject, the marriage of first cousins.

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[1] There are excellent examples in Mr J. C. Lawson's *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*. Thus the Rape of Persephone survives in a story of "Saint Demetra" and her daughter, with a Turk to play Hades.

Next I come to the most obvious contact with Parsism, the fiend Asmodæus. The peculiar form in which Cod. B reads the name, Ἀσμόδαυς, acc. Ἀσμώδαυν, is clearly original, for Ἀσμοδαῖος is a very palpable Hellenising of a bizarre form. And with its acceptance goes one of the scanty reasons for allowing the Talmudic Ashmedai a Semitic etymology. As Grünbaum pointed out long ago (*ZDMG*, xxxi. 216 ff.), Ashmedai in the Talmud differs widely from Asmodæus in *Tobit* and Aeshma in the Avesta: he is not really bad, but a playful imp, with a highly coloured dramatic character, very unlike the colourless abstraction of Parsi demonology. So שׁמד, "to destroy," which would suit *Tobit*, is inappropriate as soon as we get the word into a purely Semitic atmosphere. Ἀσμόδαυς, or still better Ἀσμώδαυς, comes very near the Avestan *Aēšmō-daēva*, when treated as a single word. But as I think it probable that all these names came into Greek through Old Persian, where alone they were made single words (see pp. 109 f., 425), I waive this and only point out that the υ excellently represents the *v* of an O.P. **Aišmadaiva*, which is lost in Ἀσμοδαῖος. Now it is noteworthy that in the Avesta, as we have it, the actual collocation *Aēšma daēva* does not occur, though it does in the Bundahish, which is based on a mass of lost Avestan matter. But he is, in fact, the chief of the demons after Angra himself, in the Later Avesta. Like Angra (see p. 202), he is only a casual personification ("Wrath") in the Gathas, if, indeed, we are justified in giving him the initial capital at all. His "bad pre-eminence" appears to be due to the Magi. Zarathushtra had been content with very few demon names, and the Magi had to make the most of rather scanty material. In my former paper I thought it necessary to explain why Asmodæus in *Tobit* was rather Lust than Hate; but it seems needless trouble. Asmodæus kills

Sarah's husbands, and his motive may just as well have been the one as the other, if not rather both.

It remains to comment on the only two considerations which might militate against our attributing *Tobit's* original to the Magian stratum of Parsism. There is just one point in *Tobit* which seems to point to Zarathushtra's own contribution, the doctrine of the Amesha Spenta. Raphael is one of "the seven angels who stand in the presence and go in before the glory of the Lord" (12^{15}א). But in Zarathushtra's own system the Amesha were *six*; and there is reason to suspect Semitic influence in the change to *seven*, requiring the addition of either Ahura himself at their head—which is expressly excluded by the language of Tob. 12^{15}, where "the Holy One" is added—or Sraosha at the lower end of their company. We may even plead that the "seven Igigi," who accompany Assara Mazaš in the Assyrian inscription discussed elsewhere (p. 31), show a very early trace of this contamination. If so, the original of *Tobit* is still Magian, and need have no really Zoroastrian elements at all.

This is confirmed by a very notable omission in the Book, which at first seemed to me a difficulty. There is not a sign of any eschatology. Those who have dated the Book in the second century A.D.—improbably enough—must assume that it is of Sadducee origin. If purely Jewish, and sufficiently early, its complete freedom from any outlook on a future life would be no difficulty. But if it is based on a Magian original we have an equally good reason for expecting no eschatology. In Parsism, beyond all reasonable doubt, there was a doctrine of immortality in the earliest Iranian stratum, cognate with that in the Veda; and Zarathushtra enlarged and enhanced it till it became the very centre of the Religion. There is no element in it in which we can see the smallest reason to suspect a Magian origin. Indeed, as Böklen points out (*Pars. Esch.*, 102), the extraordinary care the Magi took to destroy the corpse is (as ancient ideas go) in itself a presumption against their having originally cherished any hope of a resurrection.[1]

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[1] As a serious offset against the approval of the editor of *Tobit* in the Oxford Apocrypha, published while this book was passing through the press, I have to record Bishop Casartelli's dissent, in an interesting letter to me (June 6, 1913). I cite the main part in full:—

"The book strikes me rather as being of purely Jewish origin, but certainly written in a Mazdean [Magian you would say] *milieu*, and directly pointed against prevailing Mazdean ideas and practices as found all round. Hence the insistence on earth-burial as even a sacred work, directed against the ideas of *nasus*, corpse-pollution, etc. The very dog seems brought in as the purely domestic house dog—the "harmless, necessary" dog,—stripped of all the superstitious ideas of the *Sag-dīd*. The old father is blinded by a swallow's dung, *i.e.* probably by a bird belonging to Ahura Mazda's realm: physical evil therefore is not merely a creature of Angro-Mainyus; and so on. I think this theme could be plausibly worked out."

In a further letter (June 13) he adds: "I did not mean to suggest any very overt 'polemic' in *Tobit*. It might have been all the more telling if merely implied in the redaction of the book, apart altogether from the question of its origin."

It will be noticed that Dr Casartelli practically holds to Kohut's view, to which I have referred above, adding to it a tempting suggestion in his interpretation of the swallows. But were they swallows? Jerome thought so, but *στρουθία* is indifferent warrant where the precise *χελιδόνες* was available. *Στρουθία* is a rather general word for small birds, many of whom would belong to the creation of Ahura: here evidence is conflicting. Herodotus (below, p. 398) puts birds indiscriminately into the evil creation, while Plutarch does the reverse (p. 400).

LECTURE VIII

THE FRAVASHIS

The Earth. Ere Babylon was dust,
The Magus Zoroaster, my dead child,
Met his own image walking in the garden.
That apparition, sole of men, he saw.
For know there are two worlds of life and death:
One that which thou beholdest; but the other
Is underneath the grave, where do inhabit
The shadows of all forms that think and live,
Till death unite them and they part no more.
SHELLEY, *Prometheus Unbound.*

THE most conspicuous of all the conceptions of Parsism which do not owe their origin to the Founder, or receive his seal, is that of the Fravashi, the spiritual counterpart of a man. Since it is beyond question earlier than Zarathushtra, and very obviously survived the silence with which he treated it, we are justified in bringing it within our survey. And since it has had large influence outside its original home, and in its history and development is of high importance in the philosophy of religion, it does not seem to be disturbing the balance of this course if we give the subject a special investigation in some detail.

Persian religion claims, of course, no monopoly in the notion that every man has a "double," spiritual or embodied. The Egyptian *Ka* is a conception clearly independent but decidedly kin. The Roman *Genius*, as we shall see, stands very near to the Fravashi, and the Greek ἀγαθὸς δαίμων not much further away. In Babylonian hymns the phrase "my god" or "my goddess" is said by Cheyne (*EB*, 5440) to be "equivalent to the worshipper's better self." A genetic relation has been more or less probably claimed for more than one of these. In medieval thought the figure of the Guardian Angel developed one side of the conception. The other side, that of an embodied *Doppelgänger*, produced in popular legend a curious variety of fancies. In the lines quoted at the head of this Lecture, Shelley tells of Zoroaster meeting his own Fravashi, as we translate him; and he goes on with words that describe the Parsi conception with remarkable exactness,[1] showing that he had somehow got hold of good sources of information as to Oriental lore. The idea has been used with tremendous power as an allegory in Stevenson's *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*. Not less effective as an allegory, and told with literary grace that fits it to be named even with that masterpiece, is Mr Canton's story of "The King Orgulous" in the *Child's Book of Saints*. These very miscellaneous parallels, ranging from high literature down to the child-like fancies of a savage about his shadow, help to illustrate the great variety of applications which this simple idea has had in human history. We may proceed now to trace its origins and development within the limits of Parsism.[1]

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[1] That Zoroaster remained "sole of men" in this experience is challenged by Goethe, who tells us in *Dichtung und Wahrheit* of his meeting an apparition of himself on horseback. Indeed, Shelley had read a similar story in an Italian book, which so impressed him that his friends one night found him walking in sleep and shrieking for terror in a dream which repeated the story. (I owe the parallels in this note to my friend Mr Canton, whom I consulted as to the existence of legends supplying a basis for his own conception.) On Shelley's sources, see above, p. 92.

The Fravashis are beyond doubt in the first instance ancestor spirits. Whether this is their sole origin, as Söderblom seems to hold, will be discussed later in our inquiry, which may start from the features which clearly attach themselves to this primitive conception. We should, however, have before us from the first the fact that the Fravashi takes its place as one of five souls belonging to men—living, dead, or unborn. Thus:

> We adore the vitality, the self, the perception, the soul, and the Fravashi[2] of righteous (*ašavan*) men and women that understand the Religion, who in present, future, or past win the victory, who have won the victory for Asha (*Yt* 13^{155}).

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[1] Special literature on the subject may be mentioned. Prof. N. Söderblom's monograph, *Les Fravashis* (in *RHR*, 1899), is the most important, but it only deals with one of the two aspects. So does Prof. E. Lehmann in *ERE*, i. 454 f. ("Ancestor-worship and cult of the dead (Iranian)"). I may refer also to my forthcoming article, "Fravashi," in *ERE*, and my paper, "It is his Angel," in *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, 1902, pp. 514–527, in which the possibility of Biblical analogues is discussed—necessarily passed over here.

[2] These five souls, as we might call them, seem to be independent of the fivefold division of human personality in the Pahlavi books. An unedited text from the Great Bundahish is thus given by Darmesteter, *Le ZA*, ii. 500:

> Auhrmazd a composé l'homme de cinq éléments—le corps (*tan*), la vie (*jân*), l'âme (*ravân*), la forme (*âîvînak*), et le *frôhar* [fravashi]. Le corps est la partie matérielle. La vie est l'élément lié au vent [two illegible words follow]. L'âme est ce qui, dans le corps, avec le secours des sens (*bôd*), entend, voit,

The Fravashi is the highest part, the divine and immortal part, of man; and just as the πνεῦμα in the New Testament is never associated with "unspiritual" men, so in the developed Parsi theology the Fravashi was always, as here, "of the righteous" alone. Originally, as we shall see, this was only because ancestor-spirits are *manes*, "good folks," in all sorts of religions. To them in Parsism belonged the intercalated last five days of the year, which made up the shortage of twelve thirty-day months, together with the five days preceding these, the "Gatha days." The ten, which fell in March, were called *Hamaspaθmaēdaya*: the etymology is much disputed.[1] In Sassanian times the name *Farvardîgân* "(days) belonging to the Fravashis," appears: in a record of the sixth century it is given as φουρδίγαν and translated νέκυια (Darmesteter, *Le ZA*, ii. 503). The account of this festival given in Albîrûnî (ed.[1] Sachau,

parle et connaît. La forme (litt. "le miroir, l'image") est ce qui est devant le Seigneur Auhrmazd. Ces éléments ont été créés de telle nature que quand sous l'action du démon l'homme meurt, le corps retourne à la terre, la vie au vent, la forme au soleil, et l'âme se lie au Frôhar, de sorte qu'ils ne peuvent faire périr l'âme.

The "form" and the body have ejected two of the five spiritual elements of the Avestan text. "Vitality," "soul," and Fravashi are common to the two lists. "Perception" (*baoδah*) answers to *bôd*, the senses, through which the soul (*^{u}rvan*, Pahl. *ravân*) "hears, sees, speaks, and knows."

A triple division appears in the Dînkart account of the Prophet's entrance into this world (Jackson, *Zoroaster*, 24 f.). The Glory and the Fravashi I deal with together below (p. 275). The third element is the "Substantial Nature" (*gōhar*), or material essence, which was brought to Zarathushtra's parents, combined with the elements of milk, by the agency of the twin Amshaspands presiding over Water and Plants.

[1] See Söderblom, *Les Fravashis* (henceforth cited as Söd.), 5; Bartholomae, *Zum AirWb*, 243.

p. 210) may be quoted, before we go back to Avestan material:

> The last five days of this month [Âbân], the first of which is Ashtâdh, are called Farwardajân. During this time people put food in the halls of the dead and drink on the roofs of the houses, believing that the spirits of their dead during these days come out from the places of their reward or their punishment, that they go to the dishes laid out for them, imbibe their strength and suck their taste. They fumigate their houses with juniper, that the dead may enjoy its smell. The spirits of the pious men dwell among their families, children, and relations, and occupy themselves with their affairs, although invisible to them.
>
> Regarding these days there has been among the Persians a controversy. According to some, they are the last five days of the month Âbân; according to others, they are the Andergâh, *i.e.* the five *Epagomenae* which are added between Âbân and Âdhâr-mâh. When the controversy and dispute increased, they adopted all (ten) days in order to establish the matter on a firm basis, as this is one of the chief institutes of their religion, and because they wished to be careful, since they were unable to ascertain the real facts of the case. So they called the first five days the first Farwardajân, and the following five days the second Farwardajân; the latter, however, is more important than the former.
>
> The first day of these *Epagomenae* is the first day of the sixth Gahanbâr, in which God created man. It is called *Hamaçpaṭmaêdhaêmgâh.*

There are some obviously late elements embedded in this mostly very primitive ritual, or rather in the interpretation of it which Albîrûnî reports as current in his time (1000 A.D.). The connexion of the Gâhânbârs with days of creation is not of Avestan antiquity, and may be due to Semitic influence in the Sassanian period. More important for our present purpose is the suggestion that the souls returned *from heaven and hell.* This may be only Albîrûnî's own inference, for it is highly improbable that Parsis would admit the possibility of the Fravashis' coming from hell. Indeed, even their coming from heaven is incongruous enough, when we note the way the ritual provides for their assumed wants, with food and clothing and shelter. The festival is a manifest survival, as inconsistent with the higher religion as the corresponding implications of All Souls' Day are with the Christianity professed by many backward communities observing it in Europe. Söderblom (p. 21 f.) collects sundry indications that the Fravashis as souls of the dead were conceived to dwell in places which cannot be brought into agreement with the Zarathushtrian teaching that the righteous soul at death passed away from earth altogether into the heaven of Ahura Mazdah. He denies (p. 42) the Avestan character of the doctrine that the Fravashi (of the living or the dead or the unborn) dwells with Ahura; and he even questions the common assumption that unbelievers have no fravashi, derived from the standing title "fravashis of the pious" (p. 66).[1] The fact is manifest that the whole conception is antecedent to any ethical system of rewards and punishments after death. Our limits exclude discussion as to various later efforts to reconcile these ideas with the religion which failed to drive out the hoary superstition, even as Christianity has failed in a large part of the Christian world. There is no need to attempt any reconciliation for the age of the Yashts; for we have seen already that the religion of the Yashts is frankly independent of Zarathushtra and far older than his reform, to which it only yields an occasional lip-service.

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[1] Note Söderblom's quotation from the Saddar Bundahish (see the reference in Justi's *Handbuch*, p. 200), showing that the Fravashi of an unbeliever goes to hell with his soul and his *baoδah.*

Some quasi-physical characteristics of the Fravashis may be noted at this point. There seems a reasonable probability that Fravashis are actually pictured on well-known monuments of Iran. A Sassanian bas-relief (Söd., 68 n.[9]) appears to have the name of Ahura Mazdah. We are encouraged to think that the winged figure of the upper part of a man, with a flowing robe, before which Darius is represented standing at Persepolis, is meant for the deity of his worship. But since there is evidence, especially from Herodotus (see p. 391), that the Persians tolerated no images of the gods, we are justified in recognising the Fravashi of Ahura. Wings are indeed expressly suggested by the Farvardîn Yasht itself (*Yt* 13[70]), and agree with the general conception of these genii as aerial and swift. Dr Casartelli (*The Religion of the Great Kings*, p. 21) prefers to regard these figures as directly representing Ahura, observing that "there is not the slightest trace [of a belief in *fravashis*] in the text of the inscriptions." It seems to me that silence here does not prove much, and I would rather keep in mind the express assertion of Herodotus.

We turn to the more fundamental matters raised by the great Yasht, and deal first with the important section (vv. [49] ff.) where the Fravashis are most conspicuously nothing but ancestor-spirits. The section has a few snatches of verse, but its material is so obviously primitive that we need not trouble to ask the date of its composition. During the whole of the ten days—the section knows nothing of the distinction Albîrûnî draws—the Fravashis go to and fro asking for worship, just as other Yazatas do in the Yashts, and promise blessing to the house of him who will thus adore them. The worshipper must have "meat and garments" in his hand, for the souls returning to their old haunts need to be fed and warmed, just as in similar feasts of the dead elsewhere: see Frazer, *Golden Bough*^{2}, iii. 86–89.

In several passages of the Later Avesta, if our texts may be trusted, there is an express identification of the souls of the dead with the fravashis. Thus *Ys* 16^{7} (prose) *χ^{v}anvaitīs ašahē vərəzō yazamaidē yāhu ^{i}ristanąm ^{u}rvąnō šāyenti* (l. *šāyente*) *yå ašāunąm fravašayō*, "We adore the sunny abodes of Asha, wherein the souls of the dead rest, which are the Fravashis of the righteous." So *Ys* 26^{7} and 71^{23}, which repeat the words that identify them. It must of course be allowed that these three crucial words might be claimed as a patent gloss by anyone concerned to do so. This applies also to the fragment (Westergaard, 10^{39}) cited by Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 992) among other passages where souls and fravashis are named together, under conditions which suggest a very close association, though of course not proving identity. The fragment with a little manipulation of text would fall into verse; and it should perhaps be noted that the three words under discussion make a self-contained verse. It runs thus:

> Of what origin are the souls of the dead, which are the Fravashis of the righteous? From Spenta Mainyu is their origin.[1]

"The spirit returns to God who gave it." We may compare further *Yt* 13^{74}, which, however, is prose. Here the "souls" (*urunō*) of animals are adored—tame, wild, of water, earth and air, etc.; and, at the end, "the Fravashis we adore." The souls of animals would not be brought in unless identified with the Fravashis who are the subject of the Yasht. This, however, attaches itself to another aspect of the Fravashis, the frankly animistic element which accounts for the doctrine that all sentient beings—of the good creation at any rate—have their Fravashi, including even Ahura himself. To this I return later.

The doctrine that Fravashi and Soul united at death will, as Prof. Jackson remarks (*Grundriss*, ii. 643), account for a parallelism of treatment which arose from the prehistoric ancestor-worship widely current in the proethnic Indo-European period. On this it will suffice to refer to the great article on "Aryan Religion" by Prof. Otto Schrader, in Hastings' *Encyclopædia.*

Before passing from these features of primitive ancestor-worship, we may note that in the mythology of our own Germanic peoples, at the other end of the Indo-European area, there is a similar association of intercalary days at the end of the year with an annual feast of the dead. The Germanic *Kleinjahr* of twelve days was added to the twelve lunar months of 354 days, instead of the 360 days; and the Germanic year ended when the sun began to turn northwards after the solstice, and not with the vernal equinox. The Roman *Parentalia* celebration, from Feb. 13 to Feb. 21, stands near the end of the last month in the old Roman year, and recalls the Farvardîgân by its character: Dr J. B. Carter (*The Religion of Numa*, p. 16) notes that it "was calm and dignified, and represented all that was least superstitious and fearful in the generally terrifying worship of the dead." At the same time was the Greek celebration of the Anthesteria. Miss Harrison (*Prolegomena*, 54) remarks on the reason for the placating of ghosts when the activities of agriculture were about to begin, and the powers of the world underground were needed to stimulate fertility.

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[1] It may be noted that in *Bund* 1^8 (*SBE,* v. 5) Auharmazd creates all immaterial beings prior to the creation of matter. This belongs to the first trimillennium of the world-age, on which see p. 403 f.

A conception comparable in some respects to that of the Fravashi, which is significantly absent from the Gathas, is the *daēnā* or "self"—"die Gesammtheit der seelischen und religiöse Individualität," as Bartholomae defines it (*AirWb*, 666),—of which the Gathas are full. It goes with the man after death to heaven or hell. It is expressly distinguished from the *urvan* (soul) in *Ys* 45^2, where the "holier" of the Twin Spirits says to the "enemy" (*angra*):

nōit̰ nā manā̊ nōit̰ sənghā nōit̰ χratavō
naēdā varanā nōit̰ uχδā naēdā šyaoθanā
nōit̰ daēnā̊ nōit̰ urvąnō hacaintē.

"Neither our thoughts, nor our doctrines, nor our wills, nor our beliefs, nor our words or deeds, nor our individualities, nor our souls can agree." Zarathushtra promises that his own *daēnā* shall stand by that of his follower at the last (*Ys* 45[11], on which see *ERPP*, 106). But a crucial difference between the *daēnā* and the *fravashi* lies in the fact that the bad man as well as the good has a *daēnā*: see, for example, *Ys* 49[4]. The conception was probably suggested to Zarathushtra by his own philosophic analysis of man's personality: if he knew of the fravashi, apart from its connexion with ancestor-spirits, he presumably used another word to emphasise the fact that each man had his own individual responsibility, and an immortal *ego* within him which would pass on to weal or woe. The fravashi was too much entangled with mythology to suit him, and he had no use for a system which would not apply to all men. It is indeed not impossible that the name and the thing were hardly current in his part of Iran. The strong argument for the alternative view is that we have the word *fravaši* once in the Haptanghaiti: *Ys* 37[3], *ašāunąm fravašīš narąmca nāirinąmca yazamaidē*, "we adore the fravashis of the followers of Asha, both men and women." On the whole this is probably decisive; and we should regard the *daēnā* as Zarathushtra's deliberate substitute for the fravashi on its ancestor-spirit side, from which, of course, comes its characteristic limitation to the righteous. It is, however, the other element in the conception which comes nearest to the *daēnā*, that of the "double" or representative in the spirit world. If this was known to Zarathushtra, we might suppose that he rejected it in favour of a deeper and more reasonable psychology. But, after all, the difference between *daēnā* and fravashi is more conspicuous than their rather superficial resemblance. Zarathushtra's concept has nothing suggesting a primitive superstition; and a thinker of his calibre did not need the hint which such a superstition might be supposed to provide. The obvious presence of two distinct and somewhat discordant elements in the fravashis of the Later Avesta would (apart from the features noted below) most naturally be interpreted on the lines of our general theory, by assuming the Magi responsible for everything in the fravashi that does not arise from ancestor-cultus. And since we have no other indication that the Magi were known to Zarathushtra,[1] there would be thus a strong presumption that his *daēnā* was an independent idea.[2] But if its resemblance is thought too close to be fortuitous, we must assume that the complex of the fravashi was built up among the Iranians of Zarathushtra's *milieu* before his time. This involves our making the most of Indo-European parallels to the fravashi on this side, especially the Greek ἀγαθὸς δαίμων, and still more the Roman *genius*. In my paper already referred to (p. 525 n.) I observed:

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[1] *Me iudice,* of course: see p. 197 f. First-rate authorities have pronounced for the association of Zarathushtra with the Magi—cf. Jackson, *Zoroaster*, 6–8.

[2] The question whether there really are two distinct words in the Gathic *daēnā* is not yet finally cleared up. Bartholomae makes two distinct entries, but appends a note which seems to betray a wish to link them. Prof. Jackson tells me he has long felt doubt about severing them. "It seems to me," he writes, "the idea back of the whole word is 'insight,' and so 'conscience' and 'religion.'" That means, I presume, deriving it from the root seen in Skt *dhī, dhyā,* "see," "think," Av. ²*dāy,* "see," which is Geldner's view (rejected by Bartholomae, *AirWb*, 665). The coincidence that both words are scanned as trisyllables, and go back accordingly to an Aryan **dhayinā,* strengthens the suspicion that an ultimate unity ought to be found. Söderblom (p. 52) would make "personality" the earlier meaning, "religion" the later.

> It is remarkable how great the general similarity is between the Genius and the Fravashi. The Genius, with his female counterpart the Iuno, is the special patron of birth, a function which markedly belongs to the fravashis. Both seem to combine the ideas of an inborn part of the individual and a power which watches over him. And both from belonging to individuals acquire relations to communities, the Genius very markedly. See Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (in Iwan v. Müller's *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumwissenschaft*, v. 4), pp. 154 ff.

That both *genius* and *iuno* were closely connected with birth is a point to which I must return. *Genius* carries the connexion in its obvious etymology; nor *iuno* less so, when explained (after Brugmann) by comparison with Skt *yóṣā*, gen. *yoṣṇás*, "young woman." Restricting ourselves to *genius*, because of the rarity of its female counterpart, we recall at once the familiar description in Horace:

> scit Genius, natale comes qui temperat astrum,
> naturae deus humanae, mortalis in unum
> quodque caput, voltu mutabilis, albus an ater.
> (*Epp.*, II. ii. 187–9.)

Orelli's note on this passage may be consulted for an excellent collection of classical illustrations. The fullest account is in Censorinus *De Die Natali*, ii. and iii., where among other features is emphasised the fact that the Genius is "deus cuius in tutela ut quisque natus est vivit." This represents a later stage than the definition of Varro, "animus rationalis," and that implied in Horace, who makes the Genius a man's self or double rather than his guardian angel.

Since, as we shall see, there is a similar emergence of the idea of a tutelary spirit in later stages of Avestan doctrine, we may suppose that part of the development proceeded independently on parallel lines. But there is a case for regarding the starting-points as historically connected.

The two strains which can be with fair certainty detected in the Avestan fravashi doctrine may be conjecturally accounted for by recognising a second original element entirely distinct from the ancestor-spirit. On this I may repeat what I wrote in 1902 (*op. cit.*, 526):

> The idea seems to me essentially identical with that of the External Soul, expounded very fully by Dr J. G. Frazer in *The Golden Bough*², iii. 351–446. It is shown there that primitive peoples in various parts of the world imagine the soul or life of a human being to reside somewhere outside him. Sometimes it is no further away than his hair, but in a great many cases it lives in some distant object—animal, plant, or inanimate thing—which must be destroyed before the man's life can be taken. In a large class of folk-tales embodying this belief, the life of a giant or a witch is safely stored in some absolutely inaccessible place, and the hero's triumph lies in his finding and destroying it, generally by the help of friendly animals. It is unnecessary to say that the Magian fravashi is a conception immeasurably loftier than this naïve savage notion—though, if we are inclined to despise the latter too heartily, it is well to remember that our German and Keltic ancestors must have held it in all good faith centuries after the Magi had risen to their development of this primitive germ. It seems just the kind of idea which the speculative East would naturally evolve out of such a primitive inheritance.

Upon this theory, as repeated in a few sentences in the account of *Yt* 13 in my *ERPP*, p. 145, Mr N. W.

Thomas made the following criticism in the *Review of Theology and Philosophy* for March 1912:

> The Fravashi Dr Moulton identifies with the External Soul; but the External Soul, though it may not be the only one which a man possesses, is at any rate the one with which his life is wrapped up, otherwise there would be no object in taking steps to hide it. A much nearer parallel may be found among some negro peoples, who hold that a soul (*ehi*) lives in heaven and represents the man there, while at the same time a second *ehi* dwells on earth. When the man dies the two *ehi* exchange their functions in the next incarnation of the personality.

I am greatly obliged to Mr Thomas for this parallel, and I need not perhaps discuss the question whether it may after all represent a notion essentially kindred to that of the External Soul. In any case I only seek the remote origin of the Fravashi in the primitive conception to which I have referred. It seems to me still possible enough that the idea of a man's life as resident in some external object might develop into that of the fravashi; and the thought of terminating the life by destroying the external object might drop away, or even give an impulse to the conception of a guardian spirit.

More important for my purpose than this discussion of remote origins is the problem of the meaning of the name. The usual interpretation is that *fravaši* comes from *fra*+^{2}*var* (*AirWb*, 1360 f.), to choose, especially to profess a religion. That would make the *nomen actionis* mean "confession" or "belief." Side by side with this the proper name *Fravarti* (Φραόρτης) in Old Persian was assumed to stand as a (dubiously formed) *nomen agentis*, "Confessor." The name is of considerable antiquity. One Fravartish appears on the Behistan Inscription as a pretender who raised his standard in Media, and was ultimately captured at Raga. More than a century earlier we have in the record of Herodotus a Phraortes, son and successor of Deioces, founder of the Median kingdom. There has been a tendency to hail this name as an anticipation of our Saxon Edward's title: if so, we might be curious as to the creed he—or rather his father—"confessed." But no one seems to have noticed that the father of Deioces bore the same name (Hdt., i. 96), which rather spoils the implication. It is useless to ask what form of religious zeal prompted the giving of this unknown person's name, well back in the eighth century. Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 991) calls it a probable *Kurzname*[1] connected with *fravaši* or with *fraorəti*, which latter does mean "profession of faith." The choice of the former would bring the proper name also under the "eig. Bed.?" which sums up succinctly his interpretation of *fravaši* on its etymological side. I cannot feel satisfied with any account of the name Fravartish that brings it into connexion with *fravaši*, the difference between the two formally identical words lying, I am convinced, deeper than the divergence of gender.[2]

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[1] Darmesteter, *Le ZA*, ii. 504, also treats Fravartiš as a *Kurzname*, for *drigu-fravarti*, "qui nourrit le pauvre." I cite this only as an illustration, for Bartholomae can hardly be wrong in rejecting it. It seems that Darmesteter, like others, started to explain it as a royal name, overlooking Phraortes' inconvenient grandfather.

[2] There is a plausible parallel in the double meaning of Gathic *daēnā* (see above, p. 265) if it is to be regarded as one word. But, as we saw, the development of meaning there must be very different if we are to save the unity of the word. Prof. Jackson (*Grundriss*, ii. 643) mentions another *fra-var* "protect," due to Haug, which seems to be much more hopeful than the usual etymology. It involves

In my *ERPP* (p. 142) I tentatively suggested derivation of *fravaši* from the root ^{4}*var*, to impregnate. The meaning "birth-promotion" attaches itself to one of the primary functions that the Fravashis perform. Some quotations may be given to illustrate this. In *Ys* 23^1 the formula of adoration of the Fravashis ends with *yå barəθrišva puθre vīδārayən paiti·vərəte apara·iriθəntō*, "which preserve sons conceived in the womb that they die not." This is presumably quoted from *Yt* 13^{11}, where Ahura declares that it is by the Fravashis' splendour and glory that he preserves the unborn sons from death: four verses later he says that by them "women conceive (*vərənvainti*, from ^{4}*var*) sons, . . . have easy delivery, . . . become pregnant." This last is a verse quotation. In *Yt* 10^3 they give vigorous offspring to those who do not deceive Mithra (or "break pledges"). The phrase of *Yt* 13^{11} and *Ys* 23^1 is recurrent, and evidently describes a pre-eminent characteristic. Now ancestor-spirits in a very early stage of human society are believed to be actually responsible for the pregnancy of women: cf. J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, i. 191, ii. 508; *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*^{2}, 76 ff. It seems, therefore, at least possible that their name may have been at first a special cult-title of the ancestor-spirits as the powers that continue the race. It will of course be an old name, and its later connotation may well have been coloured by popular etymology, or by the influence of a distinct word (such as the original of the proper name *Fravartiš*). I do not put forward

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making the idea of a "*guardian* angel" primitive—which is, however, rather doubtful. King Phraortes might then find a greater analogue in our English history six centuries after the Confessor!

my suggestion with any wish to dogmatise: I only urge tentatively that we might reasonably expect the etymology to reflect what seems to be a most conspicuous function.[1]

The Sanskrit translation of the Avesta (by Neriosengh) has *vṛddhiḥ*, "growth," as the rendering of *fravaši*. Whether this depends upon the certainly wrong connexion with *vaχš* or not, the equivalent reproduces a very central feature of the Avestan conception. There is a constant association with Waters and Plants, the special provinces of the twin Amshaspands Haurvatât and Ameretât. In *Ys* 44^4 Zarathushtra distinctly assigns the maintenance of Waters and Plants to Ahura himself, who naturally works through his Amshaspands; and in this arrangement we may perhaps see his attempt to supersede the Fravashis. The river-genius Anâhita, who is imported (see p. 238 f.) from non-Aryan cultus, independently undertakes these functions of promoting birth and growth.[1]

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[1] Before leaving the problem, I might refer to Söd., 57, where the possibility of the meaning "protector" is noted, and described as "a euphemism to designate the dangerous and powerful dead": the suggestion is assigned to my colleague Prof. Arwid Johannson. There is also a reference to Justi's explanation that *fra-vart* is the source, in the sense "pre-existent." (I cannot trace Söderblom's attribution of this to Haug, who (*Essays*^{4}, 206) interprets "protector.") Söderblom further cites Prof. K. F. Johansson of Upsala for an explanation depending on *vart*, "turn": "*fravaši* serait alors ce qui se détourne, ce qui s'éloigne, ce qui part." This does not seem to me probable. Prof. Jackson has "not come to a satisfactory solution of the problem," but he tells me he has "long since practically abandoned the idea of *fravaši* being connected with the radical for 'confession.'" Following up a hint of his to look at *pra-vart* in Skt, I notice the idea of "originating," "producing," among its derivatives. But the multitude of alternatives makes me more dubious as to the possibility of arriving at a solution.

"The more I have studied the subject," writes Prof. Jackson to me, "the stronger becomes my feeling that the idea of pre-existence and continuance is a fundamental one in connexion with the Fravashis. . . . The pre-existence idea would make clear your point about the part played by the Fravashis at birth. It is natural, of course, that they should have such a rôle, as the *fravaši* then becomes embodied in human form. . . . The point is right, whatever view one may hold about the etymology." Without venturing to settle the vexed question whether the hen or the egg has priority, we may logically assume that to establish the pre-existence of the Fravashis is very important before we can recognise them as birth-spirits. The doctrine is very conspicuous in the Pahlavi books, as in the Bundahish (*SBE*, v. 149), where a world-period is postulated during which the Fravashis exist alone, before any material creation.[1] As noted below, on the *locus classicus* in Plutarch (p. 403), Theopompus seems to have been ignorant of this first trimillennium, which was probably not older than Sassanian theology. But there is sufficient Avestan warrant for the doctrine that the Fravashis exist before the material creations with which they are linked. Thus *Visp* 11⁷ speaks of "all the holy (*ašǎvan*) Fravashis, belonging to holy men dead, living, unborn, men that reform (the world), men that shall deliver it (*saoš̌yantō*)." *Yt* 13¹⁷ establishes a rule of precedence:

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[1] It is curious to notice that among the very few divine names in Greece forming compounds in -δωρος or -δοτος stands the river-name Κάφισος, which belongs to no less than three streams. It seemed to me possible that this fact, which struck me in reading again the "Nicareta" Inscription from Orchomenus, with the name Καφισόδωρος, might attest a primitive connexion of rivers with the promotion of birth. On this Dr J. G. Frazer kindly writes to me as follows (May 31, 1913): "Your explanation of Καφισόδωρος is very interesting and, I think, highly probable, but I cannot supply you with any parallel names formed from rivers. But in *The Magic Art*, vol. ii., pp. 161 *sq.*, I have given some evidence of the Greek belief in the power of rivers to marry women. And in regard to Cephisodorus it is worth noting that according to a local legend a certain Eteocles was a son of the river Cephisus (the Bœotian), and that hence he was called by the poets Cephisades (Pausanias, ix. 34^{9}). Another case of a person fathered on a river was the mythical Platæa, who was said to be a daughter of the river Asopus, though the sceptical Pausanias refused to believe it (Paus. ix. $1^{sq.}$)."

> The most powerful among the Fravashis . . . are those of the men of the primitive law[2] or those of the unborn men that reform the world, that shall deliver it. Of the rest, the Fravashis of the living holy are more powerful than those of the dead.[3]

The whole stanza is in verse, and its evident antiquity will serve to prove the present thesis without multiplying citations. Note that there is no hint of metempsychosis here. The Fravashi exists before the soul with which it is one day to be connected; but the whole theory would be thrown into disorder if it were successively identified with various human personalities. Precedence among Fravashis is strictly in accord with that of their earthly counterparts. Thus, in a prose passage:

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[1] We may recall also the statement in the Bundahish (ii. 10, 11) that before creating man Ahura offered the Fravashis the choice between remaining in the spiritual world eternally and coming down to become incarnate and join in the battle against the demons. They chose the latter, knowing that the strife would end in the annihilation of evil.

[2] The first teachers of the Religion.

[3] For the idea of the Fravashi of a living man one is tempted to quote Tennyson (*In Memoriam*, 44):

If such a dreamy touch should fall,
  O turn thee round, resolve the doubt;
  My guardian angel will speak out
In that high place, and tell thee all.

> We adore the Fravashis of house, of family, of clan, of district, of Zarathushtrōtema.[1] (*Yt* 13^{21}.)

This is the familiar series—*nmāna*, *vīs*, *zantu*, *daḣyu*—which survives as late as the Manichæan MSS from Turfan, in the same order.[2] According to Bartholomae these adjectives, *nmānya*, etc., denote "zur Gottheit *Nmānya* (etc.) gehörig." We naturally compare the disputed phrase *viθibiš bagaibiš*, in Darius's Persepolis inscription,[3] which Bartholomae (*Zum AirWb*, 227), Tolman, and others now render "with the gods of the royal house," the θεοὶ βασιλήιοι of Herodotus. This provides for the conception of a Fravashi attached to a community, analogous to the "princes" of nations in *Daniel* and the "angels of the churches" in the Apocalypse.[4] Another good passage is *Ys* 23^1, where Fravashis are adored

> which were in the beginning, those of houses, of families, of clans, of districts.

These passages are of special importance when we examine the possibility that the "angels" or "princes" of communities in Jewish or Christian writings may originate in Parsi influence. In this I incline to the affirmative answer, not considering Clemen's reply to

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[1] See p. 118.

[2] Müller, pp. 18 and 24.

[3] *Dar. Pers.* d^3 (Tolman, p. 36).

[4] See my paper in *Journ. of Theol. Stud.*, 1902, pp. 514–6.

Stave sufficient.[1] But to discuss this would anticipate what belongs to the next Lecture. My present demonstration that the Fravashis have functions that take them very far beyond the limitations of ancestor-spirits may be finally clinched by yet another fact about them. The *yazata* had his fravashi just as much as the *ašavan* on earth. Even that of Ahura Mazdah is often adored (see, for instance, *Yt* 13^{80}). This is another parallel to the use of the Latin *genius*, which the gods possessed as well as men.

The suggestion that a conception akin to that of the External Soul may account for one strain in the Fravashi prompts a brief digression to show that a more or less allied Avestan notion, that of the χ^v*arənah* or "glory," has features of the same kind. The passages of the Dînkart described in Jackson's *Zoroaster*, p. 24 f., tell of the Glory descending from the eternal light to enter the house where the mother of Zarathushtra is to be born, uniting with her until at the age of fifteen she brings forth her son. Meanwhile the archangels Vohumanah and Asha have conveyed the Fravashi to earth, in a stem of the Haoma plant, which in *Ys* 9^{13} is specially connected with the Prophet's birth: the myth distantly resembles Prometheus' bringing the Fire in the fennel stalk. The relation of plants to fravashis here appears again. The Glory is the subject of *Yt* 19, one of the most important; and the O.P. *farnah*, found in well-known names of the Achæmenian age, is evidence of its prominence in Iranian thought.

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[1] See his *Primitive Christianity*, p. 94 (E.T.), and my paper just cited: the latter seems to be among the few English contributions to the subject which have escaped Prof. Clemen's eye.

It was a mythical talisman which belonged essentially to the royal house of Iran, though it vanished with Yima's sin, flying away in its three successive manifestations in the form of a bird: we are reminded that the Fravashis also are winged. Its location in the sea Vouru-kasha resembles stories told of an external soul in other Indo-European countries. We cannot bring evidence that the loss of the Glory produced death, for Yima survived to be ultimately sawn in twain by Spityura (*Yt* 19^{46}). But the persistent efforts of Frangrasyan (Afrâsiâb), the foe of the Iranian monarchy, to seize it in the depths of Vouru-kasha read very much like the folk-stories that tell of the hunt for the soul. In *Yt* 5^{42} and 19^{56} ff. the prayer of Frangrasyan, "the Turanian ruffian," to Anâhita, who as the queen of the waters might help him, and his thrice-repeated dive into the mystic sea after the Glory that "glides" or "waves" in its midst, only lead to the refusal of the boon and the failure of the Turanian to capture it: the Glory can be seized by no sinner. This in its way is something like the generally asserted impossibility of a sinner's possessing a Fravashi. In both Yashts, in a phrase that must be old, it is described as "belonging to the Aryan people, born and unborn, and to the holy Zarathushtra"; and its possession would have enabled the Turanian champion to "rule over all the Karshvars." Turning to the Old Persian, we meet with the name *Vindafarnah* (Ἰνταφέρνης), describing "one who finds the Glory," in antithesis to the Turanian alien from whom it flies. Two persons are thus named: one a member of Darius's Six who conspired with him against Gaumâta, the other a Mede (?)

who led an army against a Babylonian rebel. (It should be noted that Tolman's text of *Bh* 3^{15} reads *Pā*[*rsa*] instead of *Māda*, which stands in Weissbach-Bang. This would enable us to regard the two servants of Darius as one.) There are other occurrences of names in *-farnah* found in Media. Justi (*Grundriss d. ir. Ph.*, ii. 408) mentions two chieftains Sitirparnu and Iparnu (= *Ciθrafarnah* or Τισσαφέρνης and *Vifarnah*) who were taken captive by Esarhaddon, more than a century before Cyrus. It may be assumed that the name was current only in the ruling classes of the ’Αριζαντοί, the "Aryans" in the narrower sense, to whom the Behistan Inscription tells us (see p. 60) the god Auramazda belonged.

Without pursuing the parallel of Fravashi and "Glory" too far, I think it may be claimed that distinct and independent development of the primitive notion of an External Soul may account for each of them; and in any case the comparison of the two as necessary elements in the higher life will help us to understand their nature. Both are closely connected with the divine Waters—compare *Yt* 13^{7-10} with 19^{65-69}—and the Glory is kept safe in the midst of a mythological lake.[1] We might almost say that the Glory and the Fravashi are bound together in the same way as Water and Plants. The Glory is more closely associated with the Waters, and the Fravashi with the Plants. In the same section of Dr Frazer's work, referred to in n.[1] below, we find many stories where the external soul is resident in a plant; and the eating of such a plant would supply a very easy explanation of pregnancy for the simple prehistoric folk among whom my hypothesis assumes the idea to have originated. But all this is of course very speculative, and we may leave it here.

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[1] Compare the folk-stories in *The Golden Bough*^{2}, iii. 357, 364, 365, 367, 368, 369 (two), 372, 374, 375, 379, 381, 382 (two), 386 (two), in all of which the external soul is protected by surrounding water.

There remain to be noted two more functions of the Fravashis, one clearly visible in the Avesta, the other very doubtfully present there. They are in the later Parsi theology *representative* spirits beyond everything else, sharing the fortunes of their earthly counterparts. This corresponds closely with the familiar Avestan picture of the *Daēnā* of the good or the bad man, which becomes fairer or uglier with every characteristic thought, word, or deed. But in the Avesta there are not wanting proofs that they were to some extent real *guardian* angels also. They are essential for promoting birth; they nourish animals and men, waters and plants; they guard sun and moon and stars; they are constantly present in battle as givers of victory; they watch over the Lake, the stars of the Great Bear, the body of the sleeping Keresâspa, and the seed of Zarathushtra, in preparation for the final Renewal. In time of drought they vie with each other to procure water from Vouru-kasha, each for his own house, clan, or district (*Yt* 13^{64} ff.). These attributes come from the Farvardîn Yasht itself. The Fravashis of five unknown saints are invoked (*Yt* 13^{104}) to withstand ill dreams and visions, unnatural vice and the Pairikas. The Fravashi of the holy Manthravâka, in the next stanza, will smite heresy, as the good priest had no doubt done in his lifetime.

Another (*Yt* 13[120]) will restrain persecution from kindred—an allusion clearly to unrecorded events in the saint's family life. Their general character as beneficent spirits, objects of prayer in exactly the same way as the saints in syncretistic forms of Christianity, is well seen in a fragment thus given by Darmesteter in *SBE*, xxiii. 322:

> "O Maker! how do the souls of the dead, the Fravashis of the holy Ones, manifest themselves?"
>
> Ahura Mazda answered: "They manifest themselves from goodness of spirit and excellence of mind."

(That is, these qualities in men bring the Fravashis to help them.) It has become sufficiently clear that if fear was in prehistoric times the great motive of the cult of the dead, it had long yielded to affection and a sense of dependence when the Fravashi doctrine as we have it was framed. It is significant that the first month of the Parsi year is called by this sacred name, and the last ten days of that year were dedicated to the special honour of spirits whom no reformation of religion could banish from their place nearest the people's heart.

Lastly, we must inquire how far it is true that the Fravashis were specially connected with the stars. We have seen already (p. 237) that astral theology has a very small part in genuine Parsism; and we are prepared to expect that in a field where Magianism is very little to be seen the traces of this star-lore will be few. This soon shows itself in fact. I proceed to collect what can be inferred from the Avesta in this connexion. We may quote some passages from *Yt* 13, our most important source.

First comes a verse passage, presumably old, which I give as in *ERPP*, 146:

By their brightness and their glory,
Zarathushtra, I stay from ruin
Yonder heaven, sublime and shining,
That the whole earth doth encompass;
Like a palace spirit-fashioned,
Stablished, far withdrawn its limit,
With the form of glowing metal,
Lightens it the world's three regions.[1]
With that heaven, as with a garment
Star-embroidered, spirit-woven,
Mazdah clothes him, and his angels
Mithra, Rashnu, Aramaiti;
Nor on any side beginning
Nor an end thereof appeareth. (*Yt* 13^2 f.)

This is on similar lines with a later passage, which is more explicit: the rough verse-rendering attempts to show where the metre fails in our text:

Who the paths of Right appointed
For the stars, the moon, the sun, . . .
And the bright eternal heaven,
That had erst in one place standing [long time]
Never moved, for hate of Daevas.
For the onsets of the Daevas.
Now they move for ever onward
to come to the turning-point of their path,
To the blessed Restoration. (*Yt* 13^{57} f.)

In both these passages the Fravashis are only powerful genii who can work for Ahura in any sphere. "It must be allowed that though they thus 'preserve the stars from wrong,' this falls short of identification with stars" (*ERPP*, 144).

In two other passages they are connected with specific stars, two of the four Regents that meet us in the Tishtrya Yasht:

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[1] Contrast the commoner (Gathic) sevenfold division.

> They between the earth and heaven
> Speed the lord of falling waters,
> Satavaesa,[1] at man's entreaty. (*Yt* 13⁴³.)

Similarly they watch (v.[60]) the stars *Haptō·iringa*, the seven stars of the Great Bear, which are guardians of the North and therefore need special help, for it is the quarter of the demons. There are 99,999 of them—a standing figure for infinity. This stanza is naturally prose. On this evidence, manifestly, the Fravashis are no more connected with stars in their Yasht than with Waters and Plants and other provinces in which they achieve the same victories. It is noteworthy also that they are never even brought in to help Tishtrya (Sirius) in his great fight with the demon Apaosha in *Yt* 8. We have to go outside the Avesta for the connexion between stars and Fravashi. In *Dînâ-î Maînôg-î Khirad* (or *Minokhired*), 49[22] (*SBE*, xxiv. 92) we read:

> The remaining unnumbered and innumerable constellations (*v.l.* stars) which are apparent are said to be the guardian spirits of the worldly existences.

An isolated and hesitating statement like this in a late Pahlavi book clearly cannot take us far. But since we know the Magi to have been great astrologers, the statement fits in accurately enough with what we know of their system, apart from the other strata in the Avesta, and may perhaps be provisionally accepted in this way.[2]

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[1] Probably Fomalhaut, Regent of the South.

[2] There are some good remarks on the growth of astrolatry in Western Iran in Wilhelm's important paper, "Priester und Ketzer im alten Erân," (*ZDMG*, xliv. 142 ff., 1890). He remarks on the prominence of star-worship among the Zervanites, and thinks the

In connexion with this subject I should make some reference to the story of the Magi and the "King of the Jews." What has been already said will help us to show that the Magi in the second chapter of Matthew act throughout in a manner perfectly consistent with what we have ascertained about them, or inferred concerning them, on evidence lying very far away from this familiar narrative. It would be too serious a digression from the subject of these Lectures if I were to stop and examine the historical character of the story. I must restrict myself severely to a few notes on its relation to Magianism, which I cannot discuss without some allusion to the one event that ordinary Western readers connect with the Magian name.[1]

That the story does connect itself with the Magi in the strict sense of the word will probably be conceded at once by readers who have followed my argument in the last two Lectures and are prepared to connect with it the obvious prominence of star-lore and dreams in the Gospel narrative. Our evidence has forced us to minimise the genuinely Zarathushtrian elements in Persian religion as known in the West

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development may have begun in the Achæmenian age, though only certain in the Sassanian. This has no more than an indirect bearing on the question whether the Magi found the Fravashis in the stars.

[1] There is a convenient summary of "religious-historical" speculation on the subject in Clemen's *Primitive Christianity*, p. 298 f. (E.T.). The readiness with which Böklen, Cheyne and others have set down Parsi sources many centuries later as material for the explanation of the story seems very uncritical. Cumont's advance answer (*Textes*, i. 42, cited by Clemen) is authoritative, though most of us would have arrived at something like it by the light of nature.

of Asia and Europe before the Sassanian epoch. Our Magi will accordingly have affinities with the traditional wisdom of their ancient sacred tribe, rather than with the orthodox Parsism with which they had linked themselves as priests. Their astrology and their oneiromancy alike are therefore features which we have every reason to expect in them. This includes their readiness to link the Fravashis with the stars. What sort of a star was it which they tell us started them on their journey? Not a planet, clearly, nor a conjunction of planets, as Kepler first suggested; for, as we have seen, the planets were malign for the Magi.[1] It seems most natural to think of a Nova, one of those sudden apparitions that tell us of a stupendous outburst in the depths of space, bringing to our eyes a new star that in a few weeks or months fades away from sight. We remember the Nova in Perseus which in February 1901 added a brief unit to the small company of our first-magnitude stars. But the Star of the Magi need not have been as bright as this. Professional astrologers would notice a new star which had no chance of observation by amateurs; and whether it was a Nova or not, the place of the star would probably count for more with them than its brilliance. My preference for the postulate of a Nova comes from the naturalness of their quest for an identification of the Fravashi they would associate with it. They had no doubt met with numerous Jews in their own country, and had knowledge of their Messianic hopes, which may even have struck them with their resemblance to their own expectation of Saoshyant. A dream which would supply the sought-for identification is all that is needed to satisfy the demands of the narrative. Their five miles' walk due south from Jerusalem gave time for the star, if seen low down in the sky in S.S.E. when they started, to be culminating just over Bethlehem when they drew near to the town; and men so deeply convinced of the significance of stellar motions would of course welcome this as fresh evidence that the end of their quest was gained.

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[1] On this point see above, p. 211 f. My purpose excludes the discussion of the many rival theories, but I might simply mention one of the latest, which will at least indicate that the student has plenty of choice. H. Voigt (*Die Geschichte Jesu und die Astrologie*, 1911) makes the ἀστήρ a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in the Ram, which happens only four times in a millennium. A papyrus is said to show that it happened in 6 B.C., recurring about five months later. In Gnostic texts we find that Jupiter was representative of Judæa. The Magi, then, observed the conjunction first in the spring of 6 B.C., and watched it again, culminating in the South as they entered Bethlehem. The theory is thus suggested by Kepler's, with some new points: it refers to the conjunction of the planets in the year following that of which he thought. I am glad to note that my preference for a Nova agrees with that of Mr Maunder (*Astronomy of the Bible*, p. 399). But Mr Maunder, with the expert's caution, will not commit himself there to very definite conclusions, declaring the data insufficient. One other contribution should be referred to, since it comes from a first-rate Avestan scholar. In the *Dublin Review* for October 1902 Dr Casartelli gave what he called a "footnote to Matthew ii. 1." Among many very interesting suggestions I note especially the comparison of the ἀστήρ to the χ^{v}*arənah*, in accordance with Chrysostom's idea of a luminous phenomenon descending upon

Here I leave the story to the sceptics who count

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earth. If I venture an opinion, I should confess that Chrysostom's interpretation is my difficulty in using Dr Casartelli's tempting hint. Perhaps I ought in candour to add that my own explanation above has a weak spot in our ignorance of the view the Magi would take of a Nova: it is conceivable that it might have struck them as abnormal and therefore Ahrimanian—we have no evidence.

it beautiful legend and the believers who hold it "Gospel truth." My own vote between these alternative positions would depend on a series of considerations, critical and theological, which have nothing to do with Zoroastrianism. All I am concerned to prove here is that the narrative might have been composed by a Magus for the accuracy with which it portrays Magian ideas.[1] It might be Magian fiction, of course, like the original of *Tobit* discussed in Lecture VII. But since the author was confessedly a Jew, the correct colour of his "fiction" is at least interesting.[2]

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[1] From Dr Casartelli's paper I should add his remarks on the appropriateness of "frankincense and myrrh." "The use of fragrant woods and vegetable perfumes has always been a characteristic of the Zoroastrian religious cult": he refers to *Vd* 8^2 and ^{79}, where *vohu·gaona* "is apparently frankincense."

[2] I have not repeated in this chapter all the points about the Fravashis which are mentioned in other Lectures: the Index *s.v.* will enable the reader to collect them. The most important is the reference of King Antiochus to his Fravashi as an *avatar* (ἐπιφανής): see p. 108.

LECTURE IX

ZARATHUSHTRA AND ISRAEL

> From the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same my name is great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense is offered unto my name, and a pure offering; for my name is great among the Gentiles, saith Yahweh of Hosts.[1]
>
> *Malachi* i. 11.

THE main purpose of this concluding Lecture is not that which will appear at first sight from its title. An active discussion has been going on for a generation as to the reality and extent of influences passing from one to the other of the two greatest religions of Western Asia. I naturally cannot decline all reference to this controversy, and hope to have something to say about it before I have done. But before suggesting any answer to the question whether Zarathushtra influenced Israel, or Israel Zarathushtra, I want to take a summary view of Parsism in the light of another religion, using the comparative method as a help to bring out the essential character of the religion which I am trying to interpret. The moral of the comparison may be reserved for the present: points of similarity and of difference between the two religions, in spheres of thought which concern the deepest essentials, will sufficiently occupy our attention; and in most of these points independence is so obvious that we shall not be troubled with suspicions of borrowing. Coincidences will be the independent agreement of deep thinkers upon the same great problems, and their independence will enhance their suggestiveness. Our line will resemble that of Professor Harnack in a striking paper in the *Hibbert Journal* for October 1911, in which he sketched the religion of Porphyry, showing in how many points it unconsciously resembled the faith which the philosopher in his controversial work so bitterly attacked. And at the other end of the scale of human thought we shall find an apt parallel in the coincidences which perpetually meet us as we study primitive religions in *The Golden Bough.* The human mind has an ultimate identity of constitution on many sides wherever we find it; and when its powers are brought to bear upon identical material the results tend to approximate.

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[1] See E. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.*, iii. 171, on the implication from the Jewish prophet's words that the everywhere worshipped God of heaven and Ruler of the world was in his mind identified with Yahweh.

I must not further anticipate the promised moral, but proceed to sum up afresh some of the leading characteristics of Early Zoroastrianism in terms of a comparison with ideas found in the religion of Israel. By the religion of Israel I mean of course the religion in its full and complete development, including the crown of the whole system in the teaching of Jesus, and the apostolic interpretation of it. Indeed, as a main part of my subject is concerned with the phenomena of religious syncretism, it is reasonable to expect helpful illustration even from the syncretisms of later Christianity, which cast its net into many waters and gathered of many kinds, both bad and good.

I cannot state my text better than by quoting a page from Prof. Bousset's well-known work on Judaism in New Testament times.[1] The author is a leader among those who believe in a definite and powerful influence exerted upon Judaism and early Christianity by Parsi thought. I shall have to argue against this view, except to a very limited extent, but the passage will serve none the worse as a statement of the common features of the religions, however explained:

> In the Persian religion the later Judaism came in contact with a powerful and influential faith, predominant in one part of the world and strongly impressing even the Greeks, which at least in its purer form was almost of equal rank with itself. In no other religion outside Judaism was there so pronounced and triumphant a movement of belief towards monotheism—if we make allowance for the strong tendency to dualism. Ahura Mazdah is, among all the deities of the world that surrounded Judaism, distinctively of a type which can most easily be compared with that of Yahweh. We have here also a strong spiritualising, transcendental bent, a deep-seated union of religion with earnest ethical thought. And in details how many resemblances and agreements are found! Here, as there, the thought of the hereafter and the judgement is central, and the doctrine of individual rewards and punishments is complementary to apocalyptic, the elaborated doctrine of the future of the world. In both religions there is a tendency towards dualism: the Kingdom of God, of Ahura Mazdah, stands in contrast with that of the devil, of Angra Mainyu. In both we find remarkable coincidences in

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[1] *Die Religion des Judentums in neutestamentlichen Zeitalter,* ed.[2] (1906), p. 549.

speculations concerning God and divine beings (*Hypostases*[1] = Amesha Spenta); in both, sacrifice and worship (*Kult*) recedes before ritual and ceremonial, and we may characterise both as religions of observance (of the Law). In both great stress is laid on the care of the poor. Just as the order of Scribes arose in Judaism over against the priesthood, the Magi among the Persians gained increasingly the character of theologians, commentators, and custodians of an ancient scripture tradition. Just as a canon of Scripture was formed in later Judaism, Parsism appears in the same period to have possessed a like collection. True, in all this there need not be any dependence: it may all be parallel development. But the coincidence in so many points is extremely remarkable, and compels us to examine it more closely. For we are concerned here with contacts and perhaps with dependence in the very centre of things.

One more quotation may be in place before I proceed to elaborate the parallel. Prof. Söderblom, at the beginning of his important work, *Les Fravashis*, quotes a late Parsi creed according to the translation of Darmesteter. It runs thus:

> I have no doubt as to the truth of the good religion of the worshippers of Mazda, the coming of the Resurrection and the future life, the passing of the Cinvat Bridge, the account made during the Three Nights [after death] of merits and reward, of faults and punishment, the truth of heaven and hell, the annihilation of Ahriman and the demons, the final victory of God the Spirit of Good, and the destruction of the spirit of evil and the demons, the brood of darkness.

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[1] A definition of these *hypostases* may be appended from Prof. Bertholet's continuation of Stade, *Bibl. Theol. des A. T.*, II. 394: they are "nicht ganz so anschaulich konkrete, volkstümliche Gestalten wie die Engel, aber auch nicht reine abstrakte Gedankengebilde; die naive Philosophie denkt sie sich in gewisser Weise persönlich" (W. Luekens, *Die Schriften des N. T.*, II. 335).

This *credo* is removed by its date from the Early Zoroastrianism to which we are limited, but it is completely in the spirit of the oldest period. We cannot read it without recognising how little material change must be made to enable devout Christians to use it heartily. We should have to add to it, and add what is of primary importance, but there is nothing to take away. It is well to realise this at the outset, that we may the better appreciate our problem.

The comparison in detail may begin with the idea of God. That the divine name "Wise Lord" is closely akin to Biblical conceptions needs no proof. But it is interesting to observe that the Old Testament conception of "wisdom" as a strictly practical and ethical attribute answers well to Zarathushtra's view, in which there is no room for merely speculative or theoretical knowledge. The omniscience of the Creator is a point kept in great prominence by Zarathushtra, who would have found nothing to question in such an exposition as the twenty-eighth chapter of *Job*. The doctrine grew in explicitness in later times, when this attribute of Deity was so conspicuous that ignorance and blindness had to be primary features of the evil spirit who was the mechanical antithesis of the Good in all his functions. Another parallel development may be seen in the conception of the "wisdom" that God gives to men. In the Hebrew scriptures it is the "fear of Yahweh," the knowledge how to live in conformity to the will of God. In the book of *Proverbs* Wisdom is personified in a way that reminds us strongly of Aramaiti, whom Plutarch represented as Σοφία. The personification in each case is feminine, and pictures a spirit specially associated with the Deity: in post-Gathic phrase, Aramaiti is the "daughter" of Ahura Mazdah. Those who are so minded may observe that she was especially protectress of the Earth, from Aryan times, and may recall that in Prov. 8^{30} f. Wisdom was with Yahweh when the Earth's foundations were laid, and took her pleasure in it.

That the "Only Wise God" was Creator is a fundamental doctrine of both religions. The already quoted confession of the Achæmenian kings shows that Ahura made both the material and the moral world,[1] both man and happiness. But in the original Zarathushtrian doctrine, even as in the emphatic words of Deutero-Isaiah, there was no room for the dualism which removed from the Creator's province the darker side of the world. In Isai. 45^{7} Yahweh "creates darkness" and "evil";[2] and in the Gathas (*Ys* 44^{5}) Ahura creates darkness, being indeed, as the context emphatically declares (*v.*^{7}), creator of "all things." The Gathas do not retain for us any suggestion that Ahura made disease or death, as the Hebrew prophet boldly claims. Naturally the Magi would eliminate this feature if it was ever there, having developed the idea of a counter-creation. The thought of actual creation *ex nihilo* was present in the Bundahish, as Casartelli points out: see *SBE*, v. 121 f. Whether this is based on ancient material we naturally cannot determine; nor can we say with certainty how early the idea appeared in Israel. It is said by Dr Skinner to appear first unambiguously in 2 Macc. 7[28], dated not long before our era. Even this passage is questioned by Hatch (*Hibbert Lectures*, p. 195 f.), who would make the Gnostic Basilides the earliest to announce the doctrine.[1]

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[1] The statement depends on our rendering of *šiyātiš*, Avestan *šāitiš*, which in the latter can only mean "joy": compare its cognate *quies*. Other renderings have been given, but there does not seem room for doubt.

[2] That is, of course, physical or material evil, not moral.

Two other striking features may be noticed in which the concept of Deity approximates in the two religions. That "God is light, and in Him is no darkness at all" is a doctrine too familiar to need further illustration. But Parsism from the first lays quite equal stress on the idea. In the anthropomorphic phrase, Ahura "clothes himself with the massy heavens," even as Yahweh "cover[s him]self with light as with a garment." Later we have the splendid phrase that the body of Ahura is like the light and his soul like Truth.[2] This is as immaterial a conception as could be easily devised, and it fits in with the constant insistence on the spiritual nature of God. Prof. Söderblom well brings out the fundamental antithesis of *corporeal* and *spiritual* (*astvant* and *mainyava*). It goes back to early times, and may be called an alternative dualism. He notes that the Jewish fundamental antithesis was rather between the present age and the future.[3] Ahura is wholly spiritual, and surrounded by spirits. The great Johannine saying that God is Spirit, and His worshippers must worship in spirit and truth, would translate very easily into Gathic. Nor would the Pauline antithesis of the seen and the unseen, the temporal and the eternal, sound unfamiliar to men whose thought was guided by Zarathushtra.

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[1] I owe the reference to my colleague Prof. A. S. Peake.

[2] See p. 391 for its original Greek (Porphyry).

[3] *Les Fravashis*, 60 f. The division cuts across the other dualistic division: cf. the illustrations quoted from Prof. Söderblom above, p. 147 f.

The most characteristic feature of Zarathushtra's own theology is the doctrine of the Amshaspands. It has been already shown that we are specially bound here to distinguish the Gathic teaching from that of the Later Avesta, and carefully avoid crediting Zarathushtra with anything for which we cannot give chapter and verse from his own poems. This means, as we saw, that the collective name and the fixing of a number must be sacrificed. The spirits of whom we are now thinking receive in the Gathas distinctly the name Ahura just as Mazdah does. They are, in fact, no more detachable from Mazdah's own hypostasis than the "Angel of Yahweh" or the "Spirit of Yahweh" is from Yahweh himself in the oldest Hebrew scriptures. The whole use of the names in the Gathas shows us that we have to do with concepts which are within the concept of God, not separate from it. The combination therefore has to be taken together if we would realise what attributes were assigned to the Deity in the religion. We soon see how far the Jewish and the Parsi theology travel together. First among these Divine attributes stands *Aša*, the Divine Order, ideal Truth and Right. To stop and prove that Judaism made righteousness and judgement the foundation of God's throne would be superfluous indeed. Then comes the Thought of God, out of which springs all that is good. And we are taught that man must think God's Thought after

Him, and find in this their heaven. *Vohu Manah* is in fact very much like the New Testament εὐδοκία. His two sides are fairly combined in the phrase ἄνθρωποι εὐδοκίας in the *Gloria*—men on whom God's *vahištəm manō* rests, and who reflect that Best Thought upon all around. That "the Kingdom belongs to Yahweh" was a central doctrine with the prophets of Israel, who prepared for the sublime simplicity of the daily prayer ἐλθάτω ἡ βασιλεία σου—*ājamyāt̰ χšaθrəm θwəm*, as Zarathushtra might well have said. The constant thought of the Kingdom of God as the supreme object of man's ambition is in the Gathas largely obscured for us by the difficult language; but it is central, and there is no more significant link between the religion of the Iranian prophet and that of the Gospels. Next stands *Aramaiti*, Piety, which seems to us rather an attribute of good men than of God. But it is fair to plead that to include God's best gifts within His own nature is true to the deepest reality. The Kingdom, supreme Dominion, is what He possesses. Piety, Salvation and Immortality are what He gives. But He always gives Himself. We may complete the Biblical parallel by recalling that the "Son" of God is expressly said in Heb. 5^7 f. to have been "heard because of his εὐλάβεια," and we could hardly find a closer Greek equivalent for Aramaiti. The same verse attributes ὑπακοή, *sraoša*, to Jesus, and thus brings in another of these Zarathushtrian Ahuras as an attribute of one who is claimed to be Divine. The special epithet *spənta* suggests a further parallel. If Piety is beyond all others "holy," and "holy" means, as we have seen, "beneficent," we see an approximation to the great doctrine of James 1^{26} f., that the only ritual (θρησκεία) that is acceptable to the God and Father is that of practical benevolence and a pure heart. So we pass on to the twin gifts of God to man, perfect soundness and endless life. "I came that they may have life and have abundance," said the Johannine Christ, and these are just the two great gifts foreshadowed in Zarathushtra's thought: their splendid comprehensiveness shows how well he knew *ζηλοῦν τὰ χαρίσματα τὰ μείζονα*.[1] And like the rest, these gifts are attributes of the Divine. Here, as all through our exposition, we can go to the New Testament to enlarge and explain great truths that Zarathushtra saw "in a mirror, riddlewise." To realise the Amshaspand Haurvatat, "Wholeness," or Salvation,[2] we remember the command, "Be perfect, even as your heavenly Father is perfect." And for its twin, the projection of this perfect soundness, this fullness of life and blessing, into a future which death has no power to mar, we think of the revelation of Him who "only hath immortality, dwelling in unapproachable light,"[3] and of the words that tell us how He "created man for incorruption, and made him an image of his own proper being."[4]

I have intentionally spent a little time in expanding the obvious parallels from the Christian Scriptures, because the very juxtaposition of the implicit and the explicit may help us to make for ourselves a profitable comparison of the two religions. We cannot praise the older faith more highly than by showing how it contained seed-thoughts that in the light and warmth of Christian enthusiasm might have blossomed into beauty for all the world to admire. There is also another comment that will be in place after nearly every paragraph in the present exposition. We have seen that Judaism and Christianity have developed a series of fundamental ideas which can be recognised centuries before in the obscure phrases of the Gathas. But the difference of setting is so complete that we have not to argue against the perversely ingenious people who write as if there was a complete set of Sacred Books of the East in Aramaic on the shelves of a public library in Nazareth or Capernaum. One cannot, of course, predict what a Jensen or a Drews may say—*quibus est nihil negatum!* But for scholars in general there will, of course, be no thought of dependence in such a sphere as this; and the very fact that there may be such deep-seated affinity in religions which at least in these respects admittedly did not influence one another, may be remembered as a useful caution later on.

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[1] John 10^{10}, 1 Cor. 12^{31}.

[2] Jackson, in a recent paper (*Amer. Journal of Theol.*, April 1913, p. 198), remarks that Haurvatat "denotes 'wholeness,' 'perfection,' 'saving grace,' and hence 'salvation'"—its etymological cognate, by the way.

[3] 1 Tim. 6^{16}.

[4] Wisdom 2^{23}. For ἰδιότητος two cursives read ἀιδιότητος, "everlastingness."

Pursuing my general comparative method, I proceed to point out a more recondite affinity than those I have been noticing. I have observed already that the Amshaspands are so markedly within the Divine hypostasis as not to allow the suggestion that Zarathushtra's own thought fell short of monotheism. There is a very real but by no means obvious parallel in the development of Early Christian theology. For my purpose it does not matter when or how the doctrine of the Trinity emerged as an attempt to explain the mutual relations of Divine Personalities who are central in the New Testament: my point would not be affected if the Trinitarian dogma was the invention of Athanasius. Nor need I stop to define the Catholic doctrine, which I naturally do not suggest to be an exact or even very close parallel to Zarathushtra's idea. Obviously the Iranian sage would never have approved or even understood the Athanasian Creed. For him the doctrine of an incarnation would have associated itself with the unlovely avatars of Aryan mythology, and have suffered discredit from the association, just as it would have been discredited in the eyes of Socrates by the epiphanies of Greek deities. It is very suggestive that the Christian doctrine of Incarnation sprang up on virgin soil.[1] The affinity between the Christian and the pure Zarathushtrian doctrine lies simply in the fact that both systems realise the necessity of recognising a differentiation within the Godhead—that if God is "the white radiance of eternity," there is also "a rainbow round about the Throne," which is that same Radiance seen in another way. There are six hues, or more, in Zarathushtra's rainbow, only three in the Christian, but the underlying reason is the same. It is, moreover, only heightened by the impossibility of equating any part of the Hexad to a part of the Triad. It would be possible enough to argue for a Trinity in the Gathas, where Ahura Mazdah, Asha and Vohu Manah stand together in very marked detachment from the remaining four. But the comparison helps us nothing: we might as well illustrate the Athanasian Creed by quoting the triad Zeus, Gê, and Helios[1] from Egyptian Greek papyri. There is a "Holy Spirit" in the Gathas, but he is not a separate *Ahura*. We find Mazdah described as the Father of Asha (*Ys* 44^3), but the conception is too metaphorical and abstract to suggest except verbally the Divine Fatherhood of the New Testament. Then there is Darmesteter's attempt to compare Vohu Manah with the Logos. But, as Prof. Mills very justly observes,[2] Asha would have been decidedly preferable in this comparison, if the Gathas are mainly in view; and the resemblance is shadowy at best. Putting aside all attempts to force parallels which are not helpful, we may be the more impressed by the far deeper unity of the two systems in the way in which they were led to look upon God.[3]

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[1] Perhaps I had better guard myself by observing that I am perfectly aware of arguments that have been urged in favour of foreign influences here. I cannot discuss them in these Lectures, and need only say that they entirely fail to commend themselves to my judgement, which in this matter is altogether free from bias. How anyone could fail to see in Matt. i.–ii. the most intensely Jewish chapters in the New Testament passes my comprehension.

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[1] So *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. i. pp. 106, 107, in two documents, dated 86 and 100 A.D. (as restored by Deissmann in *ThLZ*, 1898, p. 628). The formula is said by Schürer to recur twice in inscriptions of the Bosporus. One may compare with this the triad of Artaxerxes Mnemon, mentioned on the next page.

[2] *Zaraθuštra, Philo, the Achæmenids and Israel*, p. 17.

[3] A very remarkable argument by a Mohammedan scholar, who claims that the idea of differentiation within the Godhead is implicit in the faith of Islam as well as in Christianity, is cited in *Internat. Review of Missions* for January 1913, p. 115 f. See some remarks on this in my *Religions and Religion* (Fernley Lecture, 1913), p. 100 f.

I should mention, perhaps, that Prof. Söderblom, in his interesting paper on "Holy Triads," communicated to the Oxford Congress for the History of Religions,[1] cited Prof. Albrecht Weber, who made what seems a rather strange selection of the most important questions concerning the influence of the Avestan religion upon the Biblical religions. It is "the possible connexion between the Avestan triad, God, the Doctrine, the Souls of the pious believers (the Fravashis) . . . and the Christian Trinity . . .; and the Buddhist triad, Buddha, the Law, and the Congregation, must also be taken into account." Prof. Söderblom justly observes that "such a trinity scarcely appears in the Avesta." He himself has much to say of a Holy Triad found independently in non-polytheistic founded religions, "the Revealer, his revelation (God), and the new life of his followers," which stands in sharp antithesis to the triads of polytheistic creeds: Mazdah, Anahita and Mithra on the inscriptions of Mnemon will serve as an example.

What I said above about the "Holy Spirit" (*Spənta Mainyu*) of Mazdeism leaves me free to note how strikingly the Gathic concept illustrates that of the "Spirit of Yahweh" in the Old Testament. There is the same combination of distinctness and identity, the same stress upon spirituality. Of course, the fact that we use the same English rendering must not mislead us into an exaggerated notion of the equivalence of *Spənta Mainyu* and τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα or its Hebrew original. The connotation of "holiness" in the two languages is quite distinct; and while Greek and Hebrew get their word for "spirit" from the idea of "breath," the Avestan starts from the verb "think." A smaller point I may just name before I pass from this comparison. In *Ys* 33^5 we read of "the Dominion of Good Thought" (*χšaθrəm vaŋhə̄uš manaŋhō*). So we may have one of the Hexad depending on another, instead of on Mazdah. It is perhaps not too fanciful to compare the occasional appearance of τὸ πνεῦμα ’Ιησοῦ or Χριστοῦ in the New Testament as a designation of the Third Person of the Trinity.

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[1] *Transactions*, ii. 391.

I must pass on from these necessarily abtruse points of theology, in which it is easy for one who is neither philosopher nor expert in the history of dogma to stumble. Whether my comparison hitherto has been just or fanciful, I am on sure ground when I point out the general resemblance of the paths by which the two religions reached the heights of monotheism. To each people when polytheism still reigned there came a great Prophet, the centre of whose message was to bid them fix their thought and faith on One alone. But neither Moses nor Zarathushtra denied the existence of other beings called divine. The Gathas know nothing of gods who could be regarded as inferior to Mazdah but on his side. For Zarathushtra, we should judge, the step was already taken which late in Israel's history made the gods of other peoples real divinities, but of devilish nature. In the Inscriptions, however, Ahura Mazdah is "the greatest of gods (*maθišta bagānām*)," and these "gods (*baga*)" are beneficent. We may assume safely that if Zarathushtra tried to ignore these inferior deities he failed to carry his people with him. The growth of monotheism, after the primary impulse was spent, lay along the same lines in both nations.

The transcendence of the one national deity—Ahura Mazdah, "the God of the Aryans," Yahweh, "the God of Israel"—became more and more marked with time; and ultimately the nation reached a real monotheism by this road. In each case there is a possibility that the Founder reached it ages before. It may be added that the lines of religious declension were much the same. The old polytheism in each case constantly threatened to return. Mithra and Anahita might in theory be only *yazata*, angels subordinated to the only God, just as in medieval Christianity Michael and the Virgin were by theologians kept wholly apart from Deity. But with the populace the distinction was unreal, and polytheism virtually returned, as it did throughout the history of Israel before the Captivity.

The part played by the Prophet may be compared with suggestive results. Zarathushtra stands solitary in the history of Parsism, while Moses has a series of successors, some of whom were at least as great as himself. There lies the most important part of the ultimate difference between the destiny of the religions. In other respects the parallel will hold. Each Founder was credited in later days with a complete legislative system, which in Zarathushtra's case was the work of men wholly alien[1] from his spirit. By way of compensation, the men who misrepresented him—unconsciously enough, we may probably assume—elevated him to a virtually divine rank, and supported the apotheosis with a multitude of singularly feeble miracles. It will be admitted that the memory of Moses was hallowed in ways more congruous with the Prophet's true character and message.

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[1] Here I must chronicle the fact that my friend Prof. Jackson sprinkles queries about these two words. His opinion is worth so much more than mine that the reader should be told when I am venturing without his company. My main contention is that the *ritual* of the Vendidad was alien to Zarathushtra, who, as I understand him, had nothing of the ritual or the sacerdotal in his system. But I have no doubt that without their adaptation Zarathushtra's thought would have failed to survive.

When we come down from the Doctrine of God into the comparatively indifferent sphere of angelology, we are entering a subject where dispute is more feasible. But even here we may put in the forefront some coincidences which none would claim to be anything else. The prominence of Fire in both religions will be one, for it is too obviously old to be conceivably borrowed. "The Fire of Yahweh" and "the Fire of Ahura Mazdah" are parallel phrases, and the associations of each are very similar. Yet it is clear that the sacredness of Fire as an emblem came to Iran and to Israel by totally different roads. The Zoroastrian *Âtar*, with which we compared the Latin *ātrium*, the room where the house-fire burnt, was in its origin neither sacrificial nor elemental, but represented simply the fire of the hearth, which in a country of intensely cold winters had never lost the supreme importance belonging to it in the *Urheimat* in Northern Europe and through the long migrations over the Steppes. The Fire of Yahweh was in its origin, we may suppose, the lightning:[1] the narratives of the theophanies in fire, and the familiar phrases in which the God of Israel is described as "everlasting burnings" or "a devouring fire," are distant survivals of what was once quite literal and had become wholly spiritualised. Another quasi-angelic figure in the Gathas is the Ox-Soul, which, with the Ox-Creator, represents the world of animal life entrusted to the diligent husbandman. There is a likeness in the loftier and wider conception of the "Four Living Creatures," borrowed by the New Testament apocalyptist from Ezekiel, and defined by a commentator as representing "Creation and the Divine immanence in Nature." Other points in angelology we will postpone for the present, as affording at least a plausible case for direct borrowing.

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[1] Or the volcano: I do not pretend to determine a matter which concerns the Old Testament specialist. There is much interesting matter on this subject in Hugo Gressmann's *Eschatologie*. Dr Gressmann would trace a connexion between volcanic theophanies and the *ayah χšusta*, comparing especially Enoch 52^6 67^4 ff., where we have mountains of metal that melt. He would also (see p. 37-40)

We come, then, to the Doctrine of Evil. Here again there has naturally been strong presumption of Persian influence on later Judaism. Returning to that point after developing the present thesis, I will note here some resemblances in which influence would not be alleged. Before doing so let me quote a sentence from Prof. De Groot's *Religion of the Chinese* (p. 3):

> The oldest and holiest books of the empire teach that the universe consists of two souls or breaths, called *Yang* and *Yin*, the *Yang* representing light, warmth, productivity, and life, also the heavens from which all these good things emanate; and the *Yin* being associated with darkness, cold, death, and the earth.

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get the later conceptions of *Weltbrande,* found in Jewish pseudepigraphic writings (and in 2 Peter), from Iranian sources. I am not much tempted, I confess. The matter should come later, but I mention it here as I shall not be returning to it.

I might proceed with the quotation for another page, but this sentence will suffice to show that Parsism, especially in its Magian form, has parallels in Chinese religion comparable with anything we could find in Judaism. Prof. De Groot does not allude to Parsism, unless it be in rejecting with emphasis "theories advanced by some scientists" that China's religion proper had its origin "in Chaldæan or Bactrian countries," and maintaining that "it has had a spontaneous birth on China's soil" (p. 2). But if we wrote Oromazdes for *Yang* and Areimanios for *Yin*, we might well imagine his words to be a paraphrase of Plutarch on the religion of the Magi. We shall have to find extraordinary closeness between Jewish and Persian doctrine before we can argue for historical connexion, with this Chinese parallel in mind.

A very fair closeness, however, may be observed, if nothing so close as the Chinese. Zarathushtra's own name for the spirit of evil, "the Lie" (*Druj*), resembles the Biblical use of "lie" for an idol: *cf.* Isai. 44^{20}, Rom. 1^{25}, Rev. 21^{27}, Jer. 10^{14}. The parallel comes out more vividly in the emphasis with which both religions enthrone Truth as supremely Divine. As we have seen (p. 135 f.), once in the Gathas the epithet "enemy" (*angra*) is applied to the spirit of evil; and the term was caught up, by the Magi, apparently, to become the normal title of the evil deity of later dualism. Curiously enough, the Hebrew term "Satan" has the same meaning as Angra, and develops in much the same way. That *angra* meant "enemy" was lost in the Parsi tradition, which renders "wicked" or "murderous";[1] but we cannot base any argument on this, as we do not know how long what is pretty certainly the original meaning survived. But authorities on Hebrew religion point out that "the Satan" is in the earlier passages completely subordinate to Yahweh;[1] and this is held to differentiate him from Angra Mainyu, who is set in a dualistic opposition to Ahura Mazdah. Now it is true that in the Gathas the "Two Primeval Spirits" are thus opposed;[2] and it is obvious that no Jew could ever have allowed the notion of an evil spirit apparently coeternal with Yahweh, as far as the beginning is concerned. But later Parsism subordinates Ahriman as thoroughly as could be. He has, indeed, the power of creation, and not only (like the Satan of *Job*) a delegated power to hurt. But ignorance and blindness, and the strictest limitation of his power, with final destruction awaiting him at a set time, subordinate him sufficiently; and if some of these traits are developed only in the Magian process of antithesis, we must remember that in no other form would Persian ideas reach the Jews. We should, however, go on to note that the Bundahish makes the time-limit originate in an arrangement between Ormazd and Ahriman, in which the latter overreached himself through possessing only "backward knowledge." This transaction (if the Bundahish is not depending here on purely Sassanian notions) is as alien as it well could be from the whole spirit of the Yahweh religion.[1] An actual genetic relation between Parsism and the growth of the Satan idea in Judaism seems to be thus excluded: how far a connexion may have existed we will inquire later. Meanwhile we may note Prof. Söderblom's remark[2] that Angra is not enough to explain the Satan, for he does not go beyond his own domain in the corporeal world: here we must not, however, forget that he is emphatically the spirit of lies, which makes him obviously a Tempter. Söderblom refers to Luke 4^6, John 12^{31}, 2 Cor. 4^4, 1 John 5^{19} as essentially strange to Mazdeism. That religion certainly could not conceive of Ahriman as "prince of this world," which is the scene of the great strife, and of victories for Ahura marked by few defeats. The difference of conception is thus very deep-seated, even though it is possible to describe the affinity in words that go far. Thus Prof. Jackson sums it up[3] by saying that Ahriman resembles Satan in being

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[1] Neriosengh, *hantar*. I take this from Mills.

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[1] See G. B. Gray, *Enc. Bibl.*, 4297; Stade, *Gesch.*, ii. 243.

[2] See *Ys* 30^3 and notes, also p. 132 f. In *Ys* 45^2 we have the sharp antithesis brought out: this is the one place where the term *angra* occurs in the Gathas.

> alike opponent of God, tempter of the Saviour, foe of mankind, author of lies, a traitor and deceiver, an arch-fiend in command of hosts of demons.

To this we may add that the host over which the evil spirit presides was recruited in the same way in Iran and in Israel. The Daevas, as we have seen, were the gods of the pre-Reformation age; and so were the Baalim in Palestine. Milton's greatest poetry has made the later Jewish doctrine vivid for us, peopling hell with the gods of other nations. Akin to this is the doctrine of the fall of the angels. The Daevas "chose" the wrong side, we read in the Gathas (*Ys* 30^6), which suggests distinctly that they "kept not their first estate." Naturally the basis of this statement is simply the fact that the majority of the Iranian people to whom Zarathushtra preached refused the truth he offered and "chose the Lie." The Jewish doctrine originated very differently, but the result is the same; and in both religions it is equally inconspicuous. Far more important is the doctrine of the fall of man. I have discussed this fully in Lecture IV. If my interpretation of an obscure text is right, we could say that in both religions the primeval parent sinned by giving forbidden food which should bring immortality, and that the sin was committed through the deceit of a demon power. In both again we have the spirit of evil materialised as a serpent—we may pass over the absence of Aži Dahāka from the Fall story, which is of course but a fragment. And in both the consequence of the Fall is the loss of the Divine "Glory." Put in this way, the resemblance is so striking that we should assume dependence to be inevitable. But mark the differences, which will serve as an illustration of the too much neglected fact that by judicious selection one can make widely varying material appear to be the same.[1] In the Avesta, it is a king who gives forbidden food to his subjects; in Genesis.

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[1] To a very limited extent, perhaps, we ought to allow that the Prologue of *Job* shows us the Satan parleying with Yahweh, and being ultimately overreached by his own proposals. But in the Pahlavi theology God makes proposals to the Devil and so ensnares him, which goes a long way beyond the challenge of Yahweh in *Job*. And in *Job* the Satan is not yet the foe of God: they are not two antagonistic world-powers. It is here that the essential contrast lies.

[2] Reviewing Stave, in *RHR*, xl. 266 ff.

[3] *Grundriss*, ii. 652.

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[1] See on this my *Religions and Religion*, p. 26.

a woman who gives it to her husband. In the former the food is beef, in the latter the fruit of a tree. Moreover, Yima had lost his pride of place long before the Avestan story took its form: he was only in the fifth generation of mankind—Mahalalel in Genesis instead of Adam. He has a brother, who treats him ultimately as Cain treated Abel, and there are men enough in the world to supply him with a kingdom. His story, indeed, has features which recall later narratives in Semitic saga, for his *Var* has points in common with Noah's ark—to say nothing of its resemblances to the apocalyptic imagery of the New Jerusalem. Since the Hebrew stories with their Babylonian parallels are far too old to be borrowed from Iranian sources in any period that lies within centuries of the dawn of Iranian history, any borrowing hypothesis here must work the other way. Yima emerges accordingly as a combination of elements taken from Adam, Eve, their son Abel, their great-great-great-grandson, and lastly Noah. I had almost forgotten to clinch this demonstration by the decisive fact that *Gaya*, the name of the new Iranian first man, means "life," and "Eve" was understood to mean the same. Many a less weighty case than this has been accepted as a verdict of science ere now!

From first things let us pass to the last, and show how Zarathushtra moved in parallel lines with Israel's prophets in his visions of the End. The learned and ingenious work of Böklen[1] is dedicated entirely to this subject; and Stave's *Einfluss des Parsismus auj*

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[1] *Die Verwandtschaft der jüdisch-christlichen mit der parsischen Eschatologie* (Göttingen, 1902).

das Judentum[1] devotes much space to it, as does Söderblom's great work, *La Vie Future d'après le Mazdéisme.*[2] How far we may go in recognising Zarathushtra as a real influence among those which ultimately shaped Jewish and Christian eschatology we will inquire later. For the present let us again note merely the similarities and the differences of the two systems, taking first the future of the world and then that of the individual.

Among striking but certainly fortuitous coincidences the most notable concern the figure of the "Future Deliverer." We have seen that *saošyant* in the Gathas is the term which Zarathushtra uses of himself and his immediate followers. He believes that it will be his own work to inaugurate a new era, and he pictures a fiery purging of the world wherein all evil will be destroyed. Moreover, he distinctly implies that "this generation shall not pass away till all these things have happened." The Prophet died, and "all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation." For us, as in the case of one yet greater than Zarathushtra, the lesson is that to know the *when* of future certainties, discerned by prophetic insight, is for some reason wholly incompatible with the conditions of a real humanity.[3] The religion adapted itself, as Christianity had to do, to the postponement of the great hope. Saoshyant became a figure of the distant future linked with Zarathushtra by a miraculous birth.[1] The too dogmatic precision of Magian thought ultimately fixed a date for the coming of Saoshyant. According to the Bundahish, as worked out by E. W. West (*SBE*, xlvii. p. xxxi), his birth will take place in 2341 A.D., his two forerunners dating respectively one and two thousand years before this: the actual Renovation is fixed for 2398 A.D., when Saoshyant reaches the age of fifty-seven. Parsi prediction, wiser than that which even in our own time gains thousands of credulous adherents in Christendom, left a good margin of time before its assertions could be put to the test of experience. *Qui vivra verra!*

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[1] Haarlem, 1898.

[2] Paris, 1901.

[3] To discuss the application of this principle to the Gospels, under the guidance of Mark 13^{32}, is of course impossible here; nor can I even indicate my own view without trespassing out of my present subject, difficult though it is even to institute a comparison without stating my standpoint in this much-discussed question. To show that I have not ignored the problem, I may just refer to a paper entitled "Maranatha" in the *Free Church Year-book* for 1911, and to *Religions and Religion,* p. 141.

As we saw above, Zarathushtra himself concentrates mainly on the individual's future destiny, and the reaction of that destiny on present conduct. That men will be judged at last for all their thoughts, words, and deeds, and that their own Self will determine a future destiny of weal or woe, is the sum of his teaching, and it is the sum of Christian teaching also. He is equally in accord when he promises the righteous a spiritual Paradise, endless in duration, vocal with songs of praise, and bright with the Presence of God and the Spirits that surround the Throne. Even the imagery of celestial food is common to both systems, while the difference between "spring butter" and "the fruit of the vine" is sufficient to prove the emblems wholly independent. We have seen that Zarathushtra associated Judgement with the old mythological idea of the Bridge over which the soul must pass to heaven, but added to it the significant figure of *Cinvant*, "the Separater": here we are at once reminded of Matt. 25[32] (and Joel 3[14]?). There was one contingency for which Zarathushtra made provision, the thought of which never came into Old or New Testament. His criterion for the "separation" at the Bridge must have been the ancient balancing of merits and offences, the soul going to heaven or hell according as the one or the other predominated. It was inevitable therefore that the case of equal or nearly equal balance should come into consideration. The Christian system went deeper. Every man must be either wheat or tare, either fig or thistle, and a mixed crop of figs and thistledown is unthinkable. Now of course this seems flatly to contradict the facts of life. We are mixed, very mixed; and Zarathushtra undeniably faced a notorious reality, whatever we may think of his solution of it. The Christian answer would be that diagnosis is so impossible to human faculties that we cannot even imagine an absolutely just award upon any one human record: if we are theists we must assume that an infinitely higher Intelligence will solve the problem which is too hard for us even to set down. Our more practical problem is to live, and to bring life to others.

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[1] It is not superfluous to remark that this fact has been pressed into comparison with Isai. 7^{14} and the story of Matt. 1, and that by Dr P. Horn, a first-rank authority on Iranian subjects. It seems necessary, therefore, to relate the manner of Saoshyant's birth from the seed of Zarathushtra, preserved by 99,999 Fravashis in the waters of Lake *Kąsaoya*, in which at last three maidens successively will be impregnated when bathing, and bring forth severally Saoshyant and his two predecessors, *Uχšyat̰·ərəta* and *Uχšyat̰·nəmah.* See *SBE*, xxiii. 195 n.[2] I express no opinion here as to the Matthew story; but surely, in the name of science and sense, we might be spared the trouble of discussing such "parallels" as these!

And what of Retribution, for those who definitely "chose the Worst Thought"? For the Gathas there seems to be but one answer.[1] Penal suffering without end—ill food and crying of "Woe!"—nothing less is the reiterated threat of the Prophet to those who defy his gospel. The Molten Metal, which accomplishes the "separation" (*vīdāiti*) of mankind at the General Judgement, would naturally be supposed to annihilate either the whole being of the sinner or the evil that is in him. The annihilationist and the universalist theories may emerge in later Parsism, but neither seems to have occurred to Zarathushtra. And of course—explain it how we may—penal suffering without visible end is the figure which in the New Testament sets forth the awful reality and heinousness of sin. Independent witnesses here, most certainly—for the resemblances vanish when we come to detail,—the prophet minds which searched most deeply the realities of life agreed that their consequences must last beyond any limit that our eyes can see.

One point may be mentioned from later Parsism as a good illustration of fortuitous parallel. Böklen (p. 58f.) quotes from the *Sad Dar*[1] a statement that a soul which on the Fourth Night proved to be deficient in good works might have the necessary amount made up by Mithra and Rashnu out of the works of supererogation accumulated by men of the good religion.[2] In later Judaism and medieval Christianity this doctrine makes its appearance, and as far as date goes the Parsi writer might be a borrower. But it comes very naturally out of the idea of weighing merits, which is fundamental in Persian thought. The *Sad Dar* theologian insists upon that doctrine on the very next page, urging that, if the sin outweighs the merit by the estimation of a hair, that person arrives in hell. He does not seem to remember the other statement, which would require us to believe that the treasury of supererogatory good works was empty. The oversight is due simply to the fact that the writer has a different object. When he tells of the works of supererogation, he is insisting that men must have no "hesitation and doubt" as to the superiority of the Religion to all other faiths, with its store of superfluous merits for the steadfast believer to draw on. His moral in the next chapter is that "even if a sin is trifling it is not desirable to commit it." If this conception should after all be old, there is no plausible reason for supposing that the Rabbis knew of it, and as little for the converse: we have only independent deductions from rather similar premisses.

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[1] I must correct what I said in *ERPP*, 70, as too strong for the evidence. Prof. Jackson sends me a note here which I am glad to quote:—"My own view has long been that Z. preached eternal (*yavaēca yavaētātaēca*) punishment for the sinners, as implied so often in the Avesta and elsewhere; yet we have in Z. the same problem as with our own Christian 'everlasting.' The Pahlavi interpretation always renders the phrase, so far as I can remember, by 'till the future body' (*tan-i-pasīn*), or 'until the Resurrection' (*rist-ākhēz*)."

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[1] *SBE,* xxiv. 258: on its date see West's introduction, p. xxxvii.

[2] "This is to be associated," Prof. Jackson writes, "with the prayers for the soul as still made among the Parsis after the death of one beloved."

The weighing of actions is a much older example of independent coincidence. Prof. Jackson[1] cites a passage from the *Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa* to show that this is "an Indian as well as an Iranian idea." This need not mean that we assign it to Aryan antiquity, though it seems to be suggested in the Gathas and is therefore very old in Iran. But some of the Old Testament parallels cited by Böklen are sheltered from suspicion of Zoroastrian influence by their very date: this must at least be true of Job 31^6, Prov. 16^2, 21^2, 24^{12}. In 1 Sam. 2^3 we have the same word applied to the weighing of actions, in a much older passage. But the Hebrew word seems nearer to measuring than weighing.[2] It is in any case a casual figure which could occur to any writer without help from a foreign literature. The really noteworthy resemblances come much later. Böklen cites the *Testament of Abraham*, which Dr M. R. James assigns to the second century A.D.[3] Here we have an angel with scales, and the case of a soul whose sins and merits balance exactly, the total of each having been entered in a book. This would suit a Parsi writing very well indeed, but even here we ought to be able to support the parallel with other suggestions of borrowing before we can be sure of a real connexion.

Before I pass to the formal discussion of the problem of historical dependence, I may collect a few examples of isolated thoughts which resemble one another. I take the Parsi parallel from Pahlavi books, the date of which of course makes borrowing from Christian Scriptures abundantly possible. Nevertheless, I greatly doubt whether this has really taken place: accidental coincidence seems to me far more likely. The Golden Rule in its negative form stands in a position by itself. I have put it into my conjectural restoration of the story underlying *Tobit* (p. 336), because it is found in Parsi writing and may be old: its appearance in *Tobit* may therefore be due to the very special conditions of that book. In the Bundahish (*SBE*, v.) we read several sentences to which Biblical parallels occur. Thus (p. 114) the darkness of hell is "fit to grasp with the hand": cf. Exod. 10^{21}. Of the future life it is said (p. 126 f.):

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[1] *Actes du X. Congrès internat. des Orientalistes* (Geneva, 1894), ii. 65 ff.

[2] See Driver's note on 1 Sam., *l.c.*, and the Oxford *Hebrew Lexicon*, p. 1067.

[3] *Texts and Studies*, II. ii. 29: the passage is on p. 90 f.—see also p. 70.

> They give every one his wife, and show him his children with his wife; so they act as now in the world, but there is no begetting of children.[1]

There is a certain resemblance to Luke 20^{35} f. A striking passage on p. 124 tells us that a righteous man who did not warn his wicked friend would suffer shame in the assembly of judgement: West quotes a parallel from *Ardâ-Vîraf*, where it is a husband who neglected to teach his wife. We may compare Ezek. 33^{1-9}.[2] A distant echo of Matt. 25^{40} may be found in the *Dînkart* (*SBE*, xxxvii. 196), where we read:

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[1] On this see Söderblom, *La Vie Future*, 269.

[2] I cannot see that there is any real resemblance between 2 Cor. 5^3 and *Bd* 30^{28} (*SBE*, v. 127): it is at most a similarity of phrase. It would be more to the point to illustrate Paul here by the Robe in the "Hymn of the Soul," noting that Bardaisan had Parsi affinities.

> Whoever gives anything to the disciples of Zaratûšt, his reward and recompense are just as though the thing had been given by him to Zaratûšt.

From the same book (p. 266) we may quote for its resemblance to many Biblical passages,

> Let no one practise ill-perpetrated deeds, even though in a wilderness when far from publicity, nor in distress, O Spîtâmân! because Aûharmazd, the observer of everything, is aware of them.

In the *Bahman Yašt* (*SBE*, v. 197) we have something like the story of Dives and Lazarus:

> I have seen a celebrity with much wealth, whose soul, infamous in the body, was hungry and jaundiced and in hell, and he did not seem to me exalted; and I saw a beggar with no wealth and helpless, and his soul was thriving in paradise, and he seemed to me exalted.

And in the same book (p. 203) there is a closer parallel with Micah 7^6 (Matt. 10^{35} f.):

> And at that time, O Zaratûšt the Spîtâmân! all men will become deceivers, great friends will become of different parties, and respect, affection, hope, and regard for the soul will depart from the world; the affection of the father will depart from the son; and that of the brother from his brother; the son-in-law will become a beggar from his father-in-law, and the mother will be parted and estranged from the daughter.

It will be allowed that these parallels have not much of a moral either way, but they are perhaps sufficiently interesting to warrant quoting. There are doubtless others to be found for the trouble of searching: we must turn to more important matters.

I think I may claim to have presented a sufficient amount of manifestly fortuitous coincidence to justify an attitude of great caution when dependence is alleged. The need of caution is the more obvious to us when we notice how far-reaching are the theories which have been built on the assumption of this dependence. It is perhaps as well to remember that these theories do not come from Iranian experts, but from scholars whose fame was achieved in other fields. Were we to count only the Iranists, we should even doubt whether the Parsi did not borrow from the Jew, for that was the view of Darmesteter! And it must be allowed that, however high is the authority of the protagonists in this controversy, they have nearly all come to the problem from another side, compelled to take much at second hand when dealing with Iranian texts. The real Avestan experts are very cautious indeed. From yet another point of view we learn the same lesson. Nothing impresses us more vividly, in prolonged reading of modern *religionsgeschichtlich* research, than the tenuity of the resemblances upon which historical connexion is often built up. Böklen's parallels are to a very large extent a conspicuous example in our particular field, though they are vitiated still more seriously by indifference to the date of his Parsi authorities, and to the existence—often naïvely admitted—of equally impressive parallels from other sources. The very thought of fortuitous coincidence seems hardly to enter the minds of many most learned and acute investigators.[1] The cautions of Prof. Clemen, in his introduction to *Primitive Christianity and its Non-Jewish Sources*, are very sane and very much needed, as is best shown by the multitude of comparisons alleged by first-rate scholars which he rejects. But even among those which he accepts, in a thoroughly tentative way, there are certainly some that are very doubtful. The new method needs much more testing before it will give us assured results.

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[1] I cannot resist quoting one extraordinary example touching the other side of the Aryan field. Dr Hugo Gressmann, in his most able and suggestive book on the origin of Jewish eschatology (p. 305), finds traces of mythus in the statement (Isai. 41^3) that

Before we can begin to examine alleged parallels between Judaism and Parsism, we must obviously ask when and how contacts were made. That the Northern Israelites were deported partly to Media clearly cannot help us: later Judaism owed nothing to the Ten Tribes, whose religious apostasy caused them to vanish out of the history of Israel. What of the Jews in the Babylonian Exile? This question concerns the extent to which they had any real Zoroastrianism around them. During the "Persian period," from the reign of Darius down to the fall of the Achæmenian house, the Jews in Palestine were subject to Zoroastrian kings, as we see elsewhere. The period that follows is very dark. The Arsacide dynasty probably helped Greek influence in Judæa; and our knowledge of the conditions is so limited that we can neither form conclusions of our own nor reject on positive evidence any conjectures that ingenious speculation may attempt. What hap-

Cyrus "trod not the path with his feet"—so he translates, with a reference to Dan. 8[5]. It is to be regarded as a trait of divinity, established as such by the passage in the *Tale of Nala*, familiar to every beginner in Sanskrit, where the four gods at Damayantī's prayer distinguish themselves from their human rival by five tests of which this is one. Possibly Gressmann only means it for illustration.

pened during the Sassanian age does not concern us. I should, however, remind those who read detailed comparisons in the work of Bousset or Böklen that the antiquity of material to be found in the Pahlavi books is subject to the greatest uncertainty. We may be dealing with faithfully produced translations of old Avestan texts now lost, or with doctrines of medieval post-Sassanian Parsism. When we add to this the problems of date presented by the material collected in the Talmud, it is clear that the question of interlacing dependence is likely to be often insoluble. Happily, I am able to pass it by, and go back to Babylon as the place of contact, according to Bousset, the most important champion of the theory of Iranian influence on Judaism. It may be well to quote his summary (*Judentum*, p. 548):

> The place where Parsism and Judaism came in contact was Babylon and the Babylonian plain. In Babylon, as we have said, was the centre of Jewish religion after the Exile. And there are many indications that on the other side Iranian religion had overflowed its ancient bounds and pushed its way far into the west, and in any case had attained the predominance in the old Babylonian mother-country. When Alexander the Great made his expedition to Babylon, there met him in the front rank the "Magi" or Persian priests, and in the second the Chaldæans, the priests of the Babylonian religion.[1] In Greek tradition

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[1] Bousset quotes Quintus Curtius, who gives us the order of the procession which met Alexander when he entered Babylon after Arbela. After the captain of the citadel and the presents he brought came the Magi:—Magi deinde suo more carmen canentes, post hos Chaldaei Babyloniorumque non vates modo, sed etiam artifices cum fidibus sui generis ibant, laudes hi regum canere soliti, Chaldaei siderum motus et statas vices temporum ostendere. So

Zarathushtra (Zoroaster, Zaratus, etc.) often figures as an Assyrian or a Babylonian. This means that Greek scholars travelling in the East found the Zarathushtrian religion predominant in the Babylonian plain. In Jewish-Christian tradition the legendary ruler of Babylon, Nimrod, was identified with Zoroaster. Iranian religion pushed yet further westwards during the period with which we are concerned, in the form of Mithraism, which was very closely related and sprang from the same roots. Antiochus of Commagene, in the first half of the first century B.C., was a Mithraist, as we learn with certainty from his famous epitaph. The religion of the pirates conquered by Pompey, who came mostly from Cilicia and Cyprus, must also have been Mithraism. Contacts between Judaism and Iranian religion were abundant during the last centuries B.C. It may further be noted that the relations of Judaism to the Persian empire were from the first very friendly. To the Persians Judaism largely owed its restoration. And in the following centuries it appears to have remained altogether unmolested within that empire, and with complete freedom of development.

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again in III. $3^{9, 10}$, Darius sets out for Issus with Magi who come second after the sacred fire, followed by 365 youths "puniceis amiculis velati, diebus totius anni pares numero." My colleague Prof. Tait notes for me the limitations of Curtius, who depended too much on the rhetorical writers of the century after Alexander: unless supported by Arrian, who had narratives written by Alexander's generals, his facts are usually viewed with some distrust. Here one may say there is nothing improbable, though we cannot prove that the description represents conditions older than the age of the historian. I may observe that the detail about the 365 youths is simply Mithraic: cf. Jerome, *In Amos*, v. 9-10 (*ap.* Cumont, *Textes*, ii. 19), where it is said that Basilides made Ἀβράξας supreme god, meaning thereby the course of the year, "quem ethnici sub eodem nomine aliarum litterarum vocant Μείθραν." (Μείθρας and Ἀβράξας alike have letters whose numerical value totals 365.) Prof. Jackson holds that Curtius has "much that is truly Persian," and would not rule out the 365 youths as standing for the solar year.

The page which follows this has been quoted already (p. 288 f.). The importance of Prof. Bousset's views on the subject is so great that I make no apology for completing my transcript of his summary. He proceeds in conclusion (p. 550):

> One point, however, must be emphasised very specially here. Judaism came in contact with Persian religion, as we have already explained, primarily in Babylon. We shall have to conclude, therefore, that the Jews learnt to know this religion not in its purity but when strongly tainted with Babylonian elements. This mixture of Babylonian and Persian religion must in general be regarded among the most important facts of the history of religious syncretism during the last centuries B.C. It must also have been highly significant for the development of Judaism. We must also conclude that Babylonian religion in many respects influenced that of the Jews through the medium of Parsism, even where a direct contact is not admissible. The origin of many ideas which were influential in Judaism cannot accordingly be defined with certainty; and we must be content to speak ultimately in general terms of "foreign Oriental elements."

The admission of Prof. Bousset that Parsi influence on Judaism must be restricted to the period of syncretism and decadence in Parsism has very great significance for our problem. Practically it means that Zarathushtra himself is to be struck out of the list of the prophets who contributed to the development of Israel's religion. All the indications gathered during the course of these Lectures have converged upon a proof that Zarathushtra influenced only a small circle in the West during the period to which I am limiting my inquiry. What was known of his teaching reached the people living in Babylonia and

Media only as the Magi represented it; and the mirror they held was indifferently polished. It will be an advantage if at this point we stop to ask what were the main characteristics of Parsism as it would be understood by Jews living in Babylonia and Media during the last four centuries before Christ. It had lost the very features which bring the Gathas nearest to the spirit of Israel's prophets. Magian dualism and ritualism were firmly established. The Amshaspands, always an esoteric conception, had not begun to take their place beside the Yazatas of popular worship.[1] The Magi had popularised the aristocratic divinity Ahura Mazdah, and set by his side the foreign Anahita and the Aryan but now syncretised Mithra. A host of angels and an antithetic host of demons occupied a prominent place in the creed. Religious duties included the slaying of (theoretically) noxious animals, the performance of tedious ceremonial such as we find in large measure in the Vendidad, and the pronouncing of sacred formulæ as the most powerful of spells. With the ascendancy of the Magi came the commendation of next-of-kin marriages, with which the religion was necessarily credited, although these alien priests failed in their long struggle to get them established as orthodox. And the idea of immortality must have declined very much from its strongly ethical character. So far as the Magi took it up at all, it was only as a part of their mechanically balanced reconstruction: death must disappear in the new world just as mountains and shadows and dialects and other unsymmetrical things. As for Zarathushtra, the Magi claimed him as one of themselves,[1] a great figure of mythical attributes, a master of magic and esoteric lore. This picture, drawn from the evidence supplied primarily by the classical writers,[2] may be used when we ask how much the Jews are likely to have taken from Parsism. If the Parsism they knew was after this model, certainly there was not much by which they could enrich their own religious treasury.

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[1] Except in name: see p. 100 f.

The Talmud states that the Jews "brought the names of the angels from Babylon," which tallies with the obvious contrast between the pre-exilic angelology and the detailed and ordered hierarchies of later Judaism. This elaborated doctrine of angels and spirits was an unmistakably new thing, as is shown by the refusal of the conservative Sadducees to accept it.[3] I see no *a priori* reason for denying the possibility that Persian (that is, Magian) influence fostered the growth of this quasi-animistic angelology. It was never in the main stream of Jewish theology. Paul's attitude towards it is very suggestive. Meeting something essentially of the same kind at Colossæ, he took no trouble to endorse or deny its truth. Speculation about angels was for him purely idle, and worship of angels debased superstition: the only thing that mattered was our direct relations with a Being infinitely high above all angelic hosts. If we are concerned with the question whether the later Judaism developed its own new world of spirits, or derived it wholly or partially from an external source, it seems enough to say that there was a system not unlike their own in the environment of the Jews of the post-exilic period; and that, if the specialists in Old Testament theology find the later developments inexplicable by native growth, there is a possible *vera causa* in Magianism. I do not presume to decide the question, and I confess it seems to me to have singularly little importance.

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[1] Rightly, as Prof. Jackson still thinks. On this subject see my remarks above, p. 197 f.

[2] "But I believe it to be fairly true, if you compare the Muhammadan writers of later times," writes Prof. Jackson. Does not their date alone make testimony on such matters almost valueless? But I need not repeat with how much diffidence I venture a view of Zarathushtra and the Magi which differs seriously from that of such an authority as my friend. I have stated my reasons elsewhere, and must leave my theories to sink or swim.

[3] Acts 23^8.

One kind of "angel" who plays a small but not trifling part in Jewish angelology is very much like the Fravashi or "double," which formed the subject of Lecture VIII. Is there dependence here? The link would be easy to make, for, as we have seen, the Fravashi concept on both its sides is no part of Zarathushtra's system, but belongs partly to the ancestor-worship of primitive Aryan religion, and partly to a belief in a kind of External Soul, which may belong to Iranian or to Magian doctrine. This had its home in the countries which Jews knew well during the Exile. The conception accounts primarily for Matt. 18^{10} and Acts 12^{15}. The "angel" of the little child, who has not learned to sin, stands in the very presence of God. Jesus then gives emphatic endorsement to an idea the history of which may have started far away. And the company in Mary's house are ready to assume that the "double" of the Apostle for whom they had met to pray was standing outside the door. These two passages seem to be explicable by the presence of a belief in angels very much like the Fravashis on the side which was independent of ancestor-worship. The same may be said of the "princes" of the nations in Daniel and the Talmud, and the "angels of the Churches" in Rev. 2–3. These Fravashis of communities answer very well to Avestan conceptions. Inasmuch as there seems to be nothing in Israel's native angelology to prompt such a development, it is not unreasonable to suspect a real foreign influence here.[1]

Much more serious is the question whether foreign influence affected Jewish demonology. Here I put on one side the popular belief by which demons took in relation to disease very much the position that microbes take for us.[2] There is no reason for recognising Persian influence of any kind here, though there are some similarities in Persian as in other religious systems. What concerns me more is the possibility that the Magian Ahriman explains the Jewish Satan. It is fairly pointed out that the idea of attributing evil, moral as well as physical, to the agency of a spirit antagonistic to God is late in Jewish thought. One thinks at once of the Chronicler's assigning to a temptation of Satan what the earlier writer attributed to Yahweh.[3] Now if we content ourselves with saying that in post-exilic times the Jews knew of a (Magian) theory whereby evil came from a power hostile to God, we may account for the phenomena by assuming that it fructified in their minds and helped their thinkers to their solution of the great problem. But the development of the Hebrew Satan is perfectly clear, and wholly different from that of the Magian Ahriman. I have already referred to these differences, and will only now express the belief that a hint was given and used, but used in a wholly original and characteristic way.

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[1] For a discussion of Biblical passages involved, see my paper "It is his Angel" in *Journal of Theological Studies,* 1902, p. 514 ff.: also above, p. 274.

[2] Prof. Jackson remarks that a Zoroastrian priest said the same to him years ago.

[3] 2 Sam. 24^1, 1 Chron. 21^1.

A more hopeful field for the discovery of genuine Persian influence lies in Apocalyptic. We have seen that Zarathushtra was really the earliest apocalyptic thinker; and (what is more important for our purpose) he was mostly known to after ages in this character. Now almost the only resemblances that powerfully strike us, by their number and their exactness alike, are found in the imagery of Apocalyptic: not the substance, or the religious ideas that the literature conveys, but the machinery and the formulæ show sometimes a likeness which we cannot easily regard as accidental, the cumulative effect of many coincidences being considered. Several of them affect the Johannine Apocalypse. There is the final unchaining of Aži Dahāka, the Old Serpent, which prepares for his final destruction, and the detail that he swallows the third part of men and beasts:[1] cf. Rev. $20^{2, 7-10}$, 8^{7-12}, 9^{15}. Then there is the falling of the great star Gocîhar upon the earth which strongly suggests Rev. 8^{10}. It may be said, of course, that these are only from the Bundahish, and that there are possibilities of lateness. But, as Prof. Jackson notes, the general antiquity of the Bundahish, as based on the Dâmdâṯ Nask, and confirmed in important respects by Plutarch, justifies us in depending on it: we remember also how independent astronomical tests have assigned it an epoch as early as 40 A.D.[1] An Avestan guarantee is available for the parallel between Yima's *Var* and the Jerusalem of Rev. 21.[2] More important is the mention in Rev. 1⁴ of "the seven Spirits which are before [God's] throne." This answers closely to the form of the Amshaspand doctrine in which the number seven is made up without including Ahura Mazdah; and it is significant that the same form appears in *Tobit*, which we find to be based largely on Magian folk-story. Extra-canonical works like *Enoch* supply a larger fund of parallels. A quotation from Clemen's summary will put in short compass the points in which an acute outside observer of Parsism thinks the imagery of Jewish-Christian apocalyptic traceable to this outside source:[3]

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[1] Söderblom, *La Vie Future*, p. 258 f. Clemen, *Primitive Christianity*, p. 137 (E.T.).

> The idea of the Son of Man comes ultimately from Parsism,[4] and the speculation in this system regarding the Primal Man[5] probably lurks behind such passages as 1 Cor. 15⁴⁵ ff. and Phil. 2⁶ f. But, more important than this, the expectation of a future triumph over the devil,[6] of a

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[1] See above, p. 26 f.

[2] See p. 308, and *ERPP*, 156.

[3] *Primitive Christianity*, 368 (E.T.).

[4] P. 154-6. None of the evidence is early, and at the most can only affect externals.

[5] *Ib.* The extent to which Yima and Adam approximate is indicated above.

[6] P. 160. This point, as far as imagery goes, was admitted above. There is not the slightest reason to assert a historical connexion between the two religions in their optimist outlook as a whole: cf. p. 155 f. above.

> universal conflagration, of a new heaven and a new earth, as well as of the destiny of the blessed, agrees so fully with Mazdeism even in details, that here again the influence of this system must be admitted.[1] And so, too, the Mazdean belief, that the soul traverses a series of heavens,[2] has probably influenced 2 Cor. 12^2 ff., perhaps also Heb. 4^{14}, 1 Tim. 3^{16}, and particularly Jude ^{9}—just as the Mazdean comparison of the resurrection body with a new heavenly garment has influenced the corresponding passages in Paul's Epistles (2 Cor. 5^1 ff.) and the Apocalypse.[3]

I might add to these the very ingenious but hardly convincing comparison of Rev. 1^{13} with the "high-girt" Vayu of *Yt* 15^{54} (and Anāhita in *Yt* 5^{64}) by Dr James Moffatt (*Expositor's Greek Testament*, *in loc.*).[4] How far we may accept Prof. Clemen's comparisons will appear from the notes below. I only remark further that the atmosphere of Jewish and Parsi apocalyptic is sufficiently alike to make us ready to believe in a real connexion. Just as the Jews picked up and adapted an unmistakably Iranian story like *Tobit*, they may very well have used the figures and imagery of Magianism for their national vision-literature. It is far from easy to prove conclusively that they really did so, but it remains on the whole probable. The debt, if acknowledged, is small enough.

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[1] The final conflagration differs in the most important feature of its imagery—where is the *molten metal* in Judaism, except (insignificantly enough) in *Enoch*?

[2] P. 171 f., depending mainly on Bousset. The three stages of the ascent to *Garōnmāna* in the Hadhokht Nask (*Yt* 22^{15}) are the best evidence of this idea in Parsism. I should not object to it. And yet, was not a Jew bound to be influenced by his own language, in which "heaven" is plural? Must we go further afield?

[3] P. 174. But the one Avestan passage quoted (*Ys* 55^2) only says that the Gathas are like food and clothing! The Bundahish passage is equally distant from the point.

[4] Clemen rejects this (p. 154).

The greatest innovation of post-exilic Judaism was, of course, the doctrine of Immortality. Here again the stimulus of Parsism has been freely assumed. But if my thesis is right, the immortality doctrine of Magians in contact with Israel was very different from Zarathushtra's teaching. The bare fact that the Persians believed death would at last be abolished was not a very powerful encouragement to Jewish thinkers in their great venture; though I would not deny that it may have contributed something. The real lesson lies much deeper, and with it we may close, making no attempt to pursue parallels which only become numerous or detailed in a period outside our limits. Zarathushtra's doctrine of Immortality rested on a pure and passionate belief in the justice of God. Successors endowed with his spirit might have developed a serious theology recognising adequately the fact of sin and the need of deliverance. But the successors never came. Zarathushtra is a lonely figure, and the mere fact that Israel has a "goodly fellowship" of prophets to set against his solitariness is quite enough to explain the sequel. We might compare him with individuals in the long line and gladly count him worthy to stand among the greatest of them. But had he stood out above them all, he could not have prepared for the establishment of a world religion. It was Carthage that accounted for the failure of Hannibal: it was Iran that made Zarathushtra a voice of one crying in the wilderness where but few could hear. The interpreters of Zarathushtra busied themselves with explaining the world where they should have tried to save it;[1] they spent in dreams about its future blessedness the energy that might have produced a diagnosis of its deepest needs, and some contribution towards their satisfaction. The result was a shallow optimism from which any real understanding of Zarathushtra himself might have saved them. The very devil against whom they fought was a poor sort of demon after all, contending with plenty of noise but with no sort of success: he could be conquered by muttering a Gatha and killing some frogs. And Evil is a greater and more fearful fact than anything represented in the Magian Ahriman. The shadows were not dark enough because the light had grown dim since Zarathushtra's day. I am loth to criticise the Magi, for I regard them as worthy of high respect. On a far lower plane than their Prophet, they stand far above most other teachers of their day; and I hope I have made clear the preciousness of their gift when they came to Saoshyant with gold and frankincense and myrrh. Yet at best their myrrh was but an anodyne for a sickness that called for stern surgery. The King of the Jews had no use for it when He came to the supreme task. He promised Paradise with dying breath to a forgiven sinner, and the word came from Persia.[2] But Persia, even in Zarathushtra's own doctrine, could not fathom the depths of truth which that word was taught to convey. It was great to realise a theodicy, to be assured that the wrongs of life will be righted for ever by a Divine Judge who will deal justly with all. But Israel learnt a profounder lesson still. For the immortality towards which Jewish thought tardily struggled, in days when earthly happiness and prosperity had fled, was more precious even than the assurance that the Judge of all the earth would do right. It was developed through the ever-deepening sense of fellowship with a God who is love, and who cannot suffer the child of His tender mercy to pass into nothingness. It is not strange that the deeper doctrine came so much later to mankind. It was worth waiting for. He was great who taught men faith in God's ultimate justice, even though to-day only a handful of believers guard his sacred fire. They were greater who led men from a Judge to a Father, and prepared for the revelation of a love that shall win the world.

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[1] Here again Prof. Jackson would enter a plea for the "energy" of the Magi. He also queries my estimate of Ahriman as an "ineffectual angel" of darkness.

[2] Av. *pairidaēza* (*περίτοιχος), "walled enclosure," hence (in Persian) "park." It is curious to compare the conspicuousness of the encircling wall in Milton's picture of Eden.

APPENDIX TO LECTURE VII

THE MAGIAN MATERIAL OF *TOBIT*

THE hypothetical reconstruction referred to in Lecture VII. *ad fin.* is transferred to the more modest position of an appendix, lest incautious readers should fancy either that I am giving them a scientifically restored document or that I seek for laurels in the unfamiliar field of fiction. My story is only a vehicle for points which can be more easily exhibited in this form. I need only observe by way of preface that the names are chosen from Old Persian, mostly at random, and Avestan words translated into that dialect, on the assumption that the story was thus current. It might of course have circulated in one of the other languages used in Media. The specimens of Magian wisdom which I have put in the mouth of the old man, the hero's father, I have selected often on Pahlavi evidence alone, and I must enter a preliminary caveat against assuming that Magian teachers really used such language at the date when this tale may be supposed to have originated. I claim no more for them than that since Parsi priests some centuries later credited them to antiquity, and they are in keeping with the system established by research, we may plausibly assume the Magian origin of these as of other elements actually found in our Jewish Book.

I proceed, then, to tell my Median folk-tale, which we will call

The Story of Vahauka

It came to pass in the olden time, when Azhi Dahâka overran the land of Media,[1] that Vahauka and his son Vahyazdâta[2] gained great merit by their zeal for the Religion. For that accursed *Daiva*-worshipper slew by tens and by hundreds the righteous[3] of the land, and cast forth their dead bodies to defile the earth and the pure waters. Then did Vahauka and his son go forth together, as the Law ordains, and with them the four-eyed dog that makes the corpse-fiend[4] to flee; and when they saw the body of a righteous man, they carried it to the top of a hill, and fastened it down there where the flesh-eating birds might devour him. And they consecrated the corpse-cakes and partook of them,[1] nigh to the place where they laid the bones in sight of the sun, when the birds had devoured the flesh.[2] And as they went upon the work they said aloud victorious words, even those that are most fiend-smiting. So they did many days. And one day it befel that as they sat down to meat, and had not yet begun to eat, one brought them word that the corpse of a faithful man lay on the earth beside their door. And they left their meal, and went and put the corpse in a small chamber,[3] for it was near nightfall, and they could not carry it away. Then they returned and washed themselves with *gômêz*,[4] and ate meat in heaviness. Now, as Vahauka and his son thus did the works of Righteousness, the demons gathered together against them; and as Vahauka lay sleeping that night in his courtyard, being polluted, they dropped evil charms upon his eyes, and he was made blind.

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[1] Tob. 1^{18}; *Yt* 5^{29} (which connects him with Babylon: above, p. 245). The tyrant has not yet become a serpent.

[2] Two names from Behistan, containing the adj. *vahu*, "good," as Tobit and Tobias contain טוב.

[3] *I.e. ašavano.*

[4] It was deadly sin to do it alone (*Vd* 3^{14}). The *Sag-dīd* ("glance of the dog," which must have two spots above the eyes) expels the *Nasu* (= νέκυς). If a *dakhma* was not available, the summit of a hill would do (*Vd* 6^{45}); see the context there (6^{44-51}). It may be noted that the "four-eyed dog" appears in the Ṛgveda (x. 14^{10}, *sārameyau çvānau caturakṣau*), so that the Magi got this congenial item from Aryan sources. The dogs that guard the Bridge (*Vd* 13^{9}, 19^{30}) are also apparently Aryan. If the ethnic affinities of the Magi were with the nomad Iranians, this is quite natural. By "nomad Iranians," however, I do not mean necessarily tribes of the same blood as the Northern invaders who brought Iranian speech; aboriginals Aryanised in language only will suit the conditions, if these aboriginals had kin in India.

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[1] I have brought in the "corpse-cake" here because of Tob. 4^{17}, which Kohut interpreted by reference to the *dron*, a small round cake, consecrated and eaten in honour of the dead: see West in *SBE*, v. 283 f., and Darmesteter in *SBE*, iv.^{2} 57. It must be noted, however, that Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 770) questions the correspondence of the Avestan *draonah* with this M.P. ritual *drōn*. On the corpse-cake in general see Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, ii. 288–312.

[2] The rich were to use regular ossuaries (*astōdān*): see *Vd* 6^{50} f. and Darmesteter's notes. Cf. also Casartelli in *Babyl. and Oriental Record* for June 1890, and J. J. Modi, *Anthropological Papers*, p. 7.

[3] Tob. 2^{4}; cf. *Vd* 5^{10} ff., on the rooms for temporary reception of a corpse.

[4] *Vd* 8^{11-13}; cf. Tob. 2^{5-9}. *Vd* 8^{37} ff. shows that the cleansing might be complex, if the *sag-dīd* had not been performed. So if Vahauka had not had time to complete the ceremony, he would be unclean overnight.

Now before all this came to pass, Vahauka had left in pledge much gold at the house of one Gaubaruva in Raga of Media; and for fear of Azhi Dahâka, the servant of the Lie, he could not go to claim it. And his wealth was diminished by much almsgiving, and by oppression of the evil king; nor could he, being blind, increase his substance. So as the roads were now safe, he bethought him of his gold, and that Vahyazdâta his son should go to Raga to claim it again. And Vahyazdâta was right glad to go, but first he went to seek a travelling companion. But even as he went, there came to meet him a young man, who said to him that he was one of his clan, and that he knew the road to Raga, and the house of Gaubaruva therein. So Vahyazdâta brought the young man to his father, and he covenanted to pay him wages. But before they went on their journey, Vahauka called his son and counselled him thus:

"My son, to obtain the costly things of bodily life, never forsake the spiritual life. For Righteousness obtaineth everything good. One may not have at wish the power of a head of house, of community, of clan, of province, or authority over brethren, or well-built frame and well-developed stature. But that desire may be with every man in this bodily life, that he should be most desirous of Righteousness.[1]

"Seek thou, my son, a store of good deeds, for this is full of salvation. The ox turns to dust, the horse to dust, silver and gold to dust, the valiant strong man to dust, the bodies of all men mingle with the dust. What do not mingle with the dust are the confession that a man recites in this world, and his almsgiving to the holy and righteous.[1] For they shall partake of the vision of the Best Life[2] who most give alms to the righteous and most care for them. He that gives to a lover of the Lie despises Righteousness by his giving.

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[1] Cf. so far the fragments published by Darmesteter, *SBE*, iv.^{2} 295, vv. 90, 94, 95–98: Tob. 4^{5-6}.

"Understand fully, my son, what is well done and not well done, and do not to others all that which is not well for thyself.[3]

"My son, thy mother and I are old, and it may be that we shall not long remain in this bodily existence. When we die, see I pray thee that the rite is done to our bodies according to the Law. And for thyself take a wife of the seed of thy fathers, and take not a strange wife, which is not of thy father's kin. For we are children of those who have kept the holy law. Great is the perfection of the next-of-kin marriage."[1]

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[1] Here I simply appropriate Darmesteter, *SBE*, iv.^{2} 383, *q.v.*, for his sources. What follows is from the fragments just quoted, p. 297 of the same volume. Cf. Tob. 4^{7-11}, and ^{17}.

[2] The allusion to the "Best Life" is taken from Magian writing of a later time, when they had accepted Zarathushtra's teaching. It seemed best to leave it undisturbed.

[3] Tob. 4^{14-15}. The Parsi precepts are from *Shāyast-lā-shāyast* in *SBE*, v. 363. There is nothing to prove antiquity about the "five accomplishments owing to religion," of which I have selected two above. The Pahlavi treatise is conjecturally assigned by West to the seventh century A.D. (*op. cit.*, p. lxv), but he notes that it was mostly a compilation from far older writing. It refers to Christians and Jews (p. 297), and of course may have borrowed this negative Golden Rule from *Tobit* or Hillel, as far as date goes. But it is at least possible that the material here is old, and it may fairly go into this reconstruction. The precept concerning almsgiving has Avestan authority. In *Vd* 18^{37} ff. we read that the refuser of alms to one of the faithful is the most prolific father of the offspring of the Druj. To give unasked, to one of the faithful, even the smallest gift, is the way of destroying this accursed progeny.

So when Vahauka had made an end of counselling his son, he sent him away with his blessing, but his mother wept as he departed. And Vahyazdâta and his companion, whose name was Fravartish, came at eventide to the Tigris, and the young man went down to bathe. But a fish demon leaped up and tried to swallow him. Then Fravartish bade him turn and seize the fish, and he dragged it out upon dry land. This done, he told him that he should cut out its heart and liver and gall, which they took with them. So at length they drew nigh unto Raga, where Fravartish took Vahyazdâta to the house of Vaumisa, who was his father's brother. Now Vaumisa had a beautiful daughter, named Utausâ, against whom Aishma the Daiva of the murderous spear had raged cruelly; for he had slain seven husbands of hers in the bridal chamber. But Fravartish told Vahyazdâta that Utausâ was his kin, whom he was destined to wed in accordance with the holy Law;

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[1] I have used the words of Tob. 4^{12} as they stand, and combined them with a sentence from the Dînkart, ix. 38^{5} (*SBE*, xxxvii. 273), which professes to describe a fargard of the *Varstmānsar* Nask of the Avesta. How far the Avesta was really responsible for the *Khvêtukdas* is discussed elsewhere (p. 206 f.). Marriage within the kin, if understood to imply cousins, is very probably latent in *Tobit*, and may be safely assumed for its *Grundschrift*. Note how Abraham, who married his half-sister, is expressly named as an example (Gen. 20^{12}). Rebekah was Isaac's first cousin once removed (Gen. 22^{23}); Jacob married his first cousins. Noah, the first example named by Tobit, has in *Genesis* no stated relationship towards his wife. Tobias was Sarah's first cousin (Tob. 7^{2}), if we take literally the ἀδελφῷ of א: the B recension corrected it to ἀνεψιῷ.

and he promised him that he should overcome the demon. And so it fell, for when Vaumisa knew that Vahyazdâta was his brother's son he gladly gave him his daughter to wife. But the young man took the fish-demon's heart and liver with him into the bridal chamber, where he offered it unto the sacred Fire. And Âtar the son of Auramazda was well pleased therewith; and by the smell of that enchantment he drove away Aishma the Daiva; who forthwith fled into Mâzana, where the demons dwell, and there Srausha bound him fast. And all the household of Vaumisa rejoiced that Utausâ had been affianced to the husband destined for her, and that the demon had been driven away.[1]

So when the wedding feast was over, Vahyazdâta prepared to take his wife home to his father's house. He asked Fravartish to go for him to Gaubaruva and bring back the gold; and when he returned with the same they started together on their journey. When they drew near to the place, Fravartish bade Vahyazdâta go forward with him, while Utausâ came on with her maidens; and they took the dog still with them, for they feared lest Vahauka might be dead. But when they saw the old man afar off, Fravartish told the young man to take the gall of the fish-demon in his hand and strike it in his father's eyes when he kissed him. And as soon as he had done this, the enchantment was destroyed, and the old man saw his son plainly with great rejoicing.[1]

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[1] For the spell used, see the note below on the further use made of the appurtenances of the fish. In *Tobit* the demon flees *εἰς τὰ ἀνώτατα Αἰγύπτου* (8^3 B) or *ἄνω εἰς τὰ μέρη Αἰγύπτου* (א). Kohut suggested that the original was Mâzindarân, which a popular misreading turned into מצרים = *Αἴγυπτος*. The צ instead of ז seemed a difficulty to Nöldeke, but it hardly looks like a fatal obstacle. The mountain is suggested by *ἄνω* (א), which is more original. For Sraosha binding him we may compare Thraetaona binding Azhi Dahâka on Mt. Dimavend in Mâzindarân (*SBE*, v. 119). Sraosha is the special antagonist of Aeshma. It should be added that a good parallel for the spell is quoted by Robertson Smith from Kazwini (i. 132): "The smell of the smoke of a crocodile's liver cures epilepsy, and that of its dung and gall cure leucoma, which was the cause of Tobit's blindness." I owe the quotation to the Rev. D. C. Simpson.

But now that Vahyazdâta was at home again, the time had come for his travelling companion to depart. So Vahauka called him, and gave him hearty thanks for all the service he had rendered; and he offered him half of all that his son had brought from Raga. But he said, "I am not a mortal of this bodily existence, but a spirit from the abode of Auramazda. Dost thou remember when thou and thy son did rise from eating to take up from the sacred earth the corpse of a faithful man? Lo I am that man's angel,[2] and I dwell with the seven Immortal Holy Ones[3] in the abode of Auramazda. Howbeit I came down in the form of that faithful man to bring thee recompense for thy good deed and that of thy son. But now I return again whence I came. So bless ye continually Auramazda and all the *Bagāha* who are before him, and all the angels of the faithful[1] who increase the welfare of the world."

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[1] The spell is almost identical with that by which Rustem in the Shâh Nâmeh (vol. i. pp. 256, 260) restores sight to King Kâûs and his warriors, blinded by the enchantments of the White Demon. Rustem slays him, and squeezes his heart's blood into their eyes. As we shall see, this use of the demon's heart is transferred to the gall in the *Tobit* story, but it is completely in keeping.

[2] On the folk-motive of the "Grateful Dead Man" see above, p. 248.

[3] See p. 241, above.

And with this the angel vanished, and they all were filled with awe and with gladness. In process of time Vahauka and his wife died in a good old age, and their son performed the rites for them in due order according to the Law. And after this Vahyazdâta and Utausâ went to dwell in Raga, where were Vaumisa and his wife, and they lived to a good age. But before they died they had joy from hearing how Azhi Dahâka was slain and the kingdom passed to the faithful.[2]

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[1] *Fravašayō ašaonąm.* For the context cf. Tob. 11^{14} א.

[2] The mistaken reference in the Oxford Apocrypha (i. 201, 223) to my discussion on *Tobit* as in "excursus to Lecture II." is due to a rearrangement introduced since the MS. stage, in which Mr Simpson read it.

ANNOTATED TEXTS

i. The Gâthâs.

ii. Passages from Greek Authors.

(1) Herodotus, i. 131–140.

(2) Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris*, 46, 47.

(3) Strabo, xv. iii. 13–15, 17, 20.

(4) Diogenes Laertius, *Proœmium*, vi. 6–9.

iii. Excursus.

THE GATHAS

I HAVE felt it necessary to put before the English student the documents on which any account of Early Zoroastrianism must be primarily based. He can indeed read them in Prof. Mills's version (*SBE*, xxxi., or the immense monograph "The Five Gathas," with the Pahlavi and Sanskrit tradition). But the *SBE* volume was published in 1887, and it is essential that the results of newer work should be presented. My version disclaims originality. Had I the authority which only the lifelong specialist can claim, I should still think it the student's right to have before him the results of Prof. Bartholomae, whose massive Lexicon must be for another generation as much a court of final appeal as Justi's was when I began to read Avestan with Cowell. I have not, however, followed him slavishly: all who can read German will naturally study his own version[1] directly. In particular, I was bound to use Prof. Geldner's latest views as exhibited in the *Grundriss d. iran. Philologie* and in his invaluable classified collection of Avestan extracts in Prof. Bertholet's *Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch* (Tübingen, 1911). If I have generally leaned towards Bartholomae's view, for all his daring originality, it is mostly because his case is accessible in the *Wörterbuch* and its appendix; and for the present it may be said at least tentatively to hold the field. To decide judicially between two such experts *non nostrum est.*

I have endeavoured to keep the same English word for the technical terms, but not because any one word will always represent them. Where these terms are brought in, generally with initial capital to emphasise them, the reader is asked to recall the original and the explanations occurring in the body of this work, to which I hope the Index will at once give him reference. The following are the chief:—

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[1] *Die Gathas des Avesta, Zarathushtra's Vers-Predigten* (Strassburg, 1905).

Ahura Mazdāh: [Wise Lord]—regularly left untranslated, though not without reluctance.

Aša: Right—hence *ašavan*: righteous. *Rightness*, *Truth*, *Righteousness*, will often come nearer the meaning.

Vohū (*vahišta*) *Manah*: Good (Best) Thought.

Xšaθra: Dominion. *Kingdom* will often be preferable, or *Sovranty*, *Rule*.

Aramaiti (*Ârmaiti*): Piety. Or *Devotion*.

Haurvatāt: Welfare. Or *Salvation* (see p. 295 n.).

Amərətāt: Immortality.

Sraoša: Obedience.

Aši: Destiny.

Gav: Cattle (as indeterminate in gender). But

Gə̄uš urvan: Ox-soul.

Gə̄uš tašan: Ox-creator.

Saošyant: Future Deliverer.

Cinvant: Separater.

Spənta: Holy.

Mainyu: Spirit.

Daēnā: Self.

Maga: Covenant (?). (See note on *Ys* 29^{11}.)

Angra: Enemy.

Aēšma: Violence.

Druj: Lie—hence *drəgvant*: Liar. This is always to be understood in the technical sense "infidel," *i.e.* *daēva*-worshipper.

Daēva: Demon—generally left untranslated.

I. GATHA AHUNAVAITI

Yasna 28

1. With outspread hands in petition for that help, O Mazdah, first of all things I will pray for the works of the holy spirit, O thou the Right, whereby I may please the will of Good Thought and the Ox-soul.[1]

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[1] See pp. 97, 303.

2. I who would serve you, O Mazdah Ahura and Good Thought—do ye give through the Right the blessings of both worlds, the bodily and that of Thought, which set the faithful in felicity.

3. I who would praise you, as never before, Right, and Good Thought, and Mazdah Ahura, and those for whom Piety makes an imperishable Dominion grow: come ye to my help at my call.

4. I who have set my heart on watching over the soul,[1] in union with Good Thought, and as knowing the rewards of Mazdah Ahura for our works, will, while I have power and strength, teach men to seek after Right.[2]

5. O thou the Right, shall I see thee and Good Thought, as one that knows—the throne of the mightiest Ahura and the Obedience of Mazdah? Through this word (of promise)[3] on our tongue will we turn the robber horde unto the Greatest.

6. Come thou with Good Thought, give through Right, O Mazdah, as thy gift to Zarathushtra by thy sure words, long-enduring mighty help, and to us,[4] O Ahura, whereby we may overcome foes.[5]

7. Grant, O thou the Right, the reward, the blessings of Good Thought; O Piety, give our desire to Vishtaspa and to me; O thou, Mazdah (Wise one) and Sovran, grant that your[6] Prophet may perform the word of hearing.

8. The best I ask of thee, O Best, Ahura (Lord) of one will

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[1] The souls of his people—collective. (See p. 170 n.^{1}.)

[2] Truth (Plutarch's ἀλήθεια) would be nearer here.

[3] *Mąnθra*, "spell." There seems a conscious transformation of a word hitherto used of mere spells, and destined to revert to this baser use. Zarathushtra's "spells" are promises of heaven, by which he will convert the wild nomads to the Truth.

[4] As in some other places, the Prophet's followers are the speakers, joining him with themselves as a present leader. Zarathushtra might still be the composer, as in v.^{7} below.

[5] Omitting *dvaēšå* for the metre: the MS. text has "the hostilities of the hostile" (Bartholomae in his 1879 text).

[6] As often, the plural joins the Amesha with Mazdah. Note how the collocation *Mazdā χšayā·cā* brings out the fact that Mazdāh is not yet a mere proper name. It would in some ways be more satisfactory to keep "the Wise" throughout, and "Lord" for Ahura.

with the Best Right,[1] desiring them for the hero Frashaoshtra[2] and myself and for them to whom thou wilt give them, gifts of Good Thought for aye.

9. With these bounties, O Ahura, may we never provoke your wrath, O Mazdah and Right and Best Thought, we who have been eager in bringing you songs of praise. Ye are they that are mightiest to advance desires and the Dominion of Blessings.[3]

10. The wise whom thou knowest as worthy, for their right (doing) and their good thought, for them do thou fulfil their longing by attainment. For I know words of prayer are effectual with you, which tend to a good matter.

11. I who would thereby preserve Right and Good Thought for evermore, do thou teach me, O Mazdah Ahura, from thy spirit by thy mouth how it will be with the First Life.[4]

Yasna 29

1. Unto you[5] wailed the Ox-soul.[6] "For whom[7] did ye fashion me? Who created me? Violence[8] and rapine hath oppressed me, and outrage and might. I have no other herdsman than you: prepare for me then the blessings of pasture."

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[1] Asha Vahishta was fixed as a title later: in the Gathas the epithet is free, as it is with Manah.

[2] A noble of the Hvogva family, brother of Jâmâspa, and son-in-law of Zarathushtra and a chief helper.

[3] *χšaθra savanhąm*, eschatological. *Savah* is a noun from the verb *sav*, "bless" or "save," of which the future participle is *saošyant*.

[4] Life in this world, also called "corporeal life" or "this life," as opposed to "future" or "second" or "spiritual life." He "asks for inspiration that he may set forth the way in which this life may be so lived as to lead on to another" (*ERPP*, 90, where an alternative rendering is noted).

[5] Ahura with the Amesha around him.

[6] *Gəuš urvan* is a being with much the same relation to cattle on earth that the Fravashis have to men. He complains in the heavenly council of violence done to those on earth whom he represents.

[7] "What" seems less likely. The masc. anticipates the answer that the hymn will supply.

[8] *Aēšmō*, but it is not yet a proper name: it is on the same footing as the synonyms following. After *hazascā* the word *rəmō*, "savagery," is left out for the metre—it may be a gloss.

2. Then the Ox-Creator[1] asked of the Right: "Hast thou a judge for the Ox, that ye may be able to appoint him zealous tendance as well as fodder? Whom do ye will to be his lord,[2] who may drive off violence[3] together with the followers of the Lie?"[4]

3. To him the Right replied[5]: "There is for the Ox no helper that can keep harm away. Those yonder[6] have no knowledge how right-doers act towards the lowly."

(*The Ox-Creator*) "Strongest of beings is he to whose help I come at call."

4. (*Asha*) "Mazdah knoweth best the purposes that have been wrought already by demons and by mortals, and that shall be wrought hereafter. He, Ahura, is the decider. So shall it be as he shall will."

5. (*The Ox-Creator*[7]) "To Ahura with outspread hands we twain would pray, my soul and that of the pregnant Cow, so that we twain urge Mazdah with entreaties: Destruction is not for the right-living nor for the cattle-tender, at hands of the Liars."

6. Then spake Ahura Mazdah himself, who knows the laws, with wisdom: "There is found no lord or judge[8] according to

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[1] It is suggested in *ERPP*, 91 (*q.v.* for analysis and further notes) that this genius replaces Mithra. He is not Ahura Mazdah, for he addresses him in this hymn. Bartholomae makes both *Gə̄uš tašan* and *Gə̄uš urvan* share the title of Ahura, which belongs also to the Amesha and to Âtar: these nine are named together in *Ys* 1^2 and 70^2.

[2] *Ahurəm*: the word is a common noun here.

[3] *Aēšma* here comes much nearer personification.

[4] *Drəgvant*, "one who has the *Druj*," the standing antithesis to *ašavant*, "one who has Asha."

[5] Asha, as guardian of things as they should be. But the passage is significant in that even Asha is not high enough for the purpose presently disclosed. Nothing less than Mazdah's own commission will be authority enough for Zarathushtra.

[6] *I.e.* men below.

[7] But instead of him we seem to have *Gə̄uš urvan* again, who speaks for a primeval pair, ox and cow.

[8] *Ahū* and *ratu* are correlative terms, in the Gathas denoting the prince and the judge respectively, the former executing the judge's decisions. At the final Judgement Mazdah is *ahū* and Zarathushtra *ratu*. See p. 160 f.

the Right Order; for the Creator hath formed thee for the cattle-tender and the farmer.[1]

7. This ordinance about the fat[2] hath Ahura Mazdah, one in will with the Right, created for the cattle, and the milk for them that crave nourishment, by his command, the holy one.

(*The Ox and Cow*) "Whom hast thou, O Good Thought,[3] among men who may care for us twain?"

8. (*Vohu Manah*) "He is known to me here who alone hath heard our commands, even Zarathushtra Spitama: he willeth to make known our thoughts, O Mazdah, and those of the Right. So let us bestow on him charm of speech."

9. Then the Ox-Soul lamented: "That I must be content with the ineffectual word of an impotent man for my protector, when I wish for one that commands mightily! When ever shall there be one who shall give him (the Ox) effectual help?"

10. (*Zarathushtra*[4]) "Do ye, O Ahura, grant them strength, O Right, and that Dominion, O Good Thought, whereby he (the protector) can produce good dwellings and peace. I also have realised thee, Mazdah, as first discoverer of this.

11. Where are Right and Good Thought and Dominion? So, ye men, acknowledge me, for instruction, Mazdah, for the great society."[5]

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[1] The cattle are chattels, and can only appear by their patron, like a woman with her *κύριος* in Greek law.

[2] Mazdah declares that the cattle are divinely appointed to give flesh and milk to men. As Bartholomae observes, the form of expression assumes the hearer's knowledge of the *manthra* ("ordinance") stated: the Gatha only mentions it allusively.

[3] Cattle were the special province of Vohu Manah, but the Gathas do not emphasise it.

[4] Justi would make the Fravashi of the Prophet interlocutor here. Since the Fravashis are ignored in the Gathas (see p. 264 f.), this should not be admitted without strong reason. And in this symbolic poem it is very natural for Zarathushtra to picture himself joining in the council without raising prosaic questions as to the way in which he could do so. Incidentally note how consonant with Zarathushtra's own authorship is the depreciatory phrase of v. 9. It is what in Gospel criticism would be called a "Pillar" passage, in Prof. Schmiedel's phrase—one which is guaranteed by the impossibility of later ages inventing it.

[5] A rather problematic word, taken by Bartholomae as Zarathushtra's name for his community of followers. But there is great attractiveness in

(*The Ox and Cow*) "O Ahura, now is help ours: we will be ready to serve those that are of you."[1]

Yasna 30

1. Now will I proclaim to those who will hear the things that the understanding man should remember, for hymns unto Ahura and prayers to Good Thought; also the felicity that is with the heavenly lights, which through Right shall be beheld by him who wisely thinks.

2. Hear with your ears the best things; look upon them with clear-seeing thought, for decision between the two Beliefs, each man for himself before the Great Consummation, bethinking you that it be accomplished to our pleasure.

3. Now the two primal Spirits, who revealed themselves in vision[2] as Twins,[3] are the Better and the Bad in thought and word and action. And between these two the wise once chose aright, the foolish not so.

4. And when these twain Spirits came together in the beginning, they established Life and Not-Life, and that at the last the Worst Existence shall be to the followers of the Lie, but the Best Thought[4] to him that follows Right.

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the argument elaborated by Prof. Carnoy of Louvain in *Muséon*, n.s. ix. (p. 17 ff. of reprint). He equates *maga* with Skt *magha* in the sense of *richesse*, meaning generally "treasure in heaven," especially when combined with the adjective *great* in the "archaic expression" found here. If Carnoy is right, we must alter the rendering accordingly in *Ys* 46^{14}, $51^{11\text{-}16}$, 53^{7}; see further the note on *Ys* 33^{7}.

[1] *Yūšmavant*, lit. "like you," apparently means "you of the heavenly company," Mazdah and the spirits with him.

[2] χ^{v}*afnā* Bartholomae equates with *somnō*, an exact phonetic equivalent yielding good sense. Geldner (in *Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch* (1910), p. 324) renders "nach ihrem eigenen Wort." The word occurs in *Yt* 13^{104} as "dream," and often as "sleep." For a defence of Bartholomae's rendering against Justi, see *Zum AirWb*, 245.

[3] Geldner (*l.c.*) has now accepted this traditional rendering. Bartholomae remarks that the word occurs in the Pahlavi form in the Dinkart, where West renders "Ōhrmazd and Ahraman have been two brothers in one womb" (*SBE*, xxxvii. 242). See above, p. 132 f.

[4] Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 1133) wishes to recognise a second *manah*, "dwelling" (μονή), to complete the parallelism. It seems very unlikely that the

5. Of these twain Spirits he that followed the Lie chose doing the worst things; the holiest Spirit chose Right, he that clothes him with the massy heavens as a garment. So likewise they that are fain to please Ahura Mazdah by dutiful actions.

6. Between these twain the demons[1] also chose not aright, for infatuation came upon them as they took counsel together, so that they chose the Worst Thought. Then they rushed together[2] to Violence,[3] that they might enfeeble the world of man.

7. And to him (*i.e.* mankind) came Dominion, Good Thought, and Right; and Piety gave continued life of their bodies[4] and indestructibility, so that by thy retributions through the (molten) metal[5] he may gain the prize over those others.[6]

8. So when there cometh the punishment of these evil ones, then, O Mazdah, at thy command shall Good Thought establish the Dominion in the Consummation, for those who deliver the Lie, O Ahura, into the hands of Right.

9. So may we be those that make this world advance![7] O

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familiar collocation *vahištəm manō* should thus change its meaning. In *Ys* 53^4 heaven is "the inheritance of Good Thought"; and *Humanah* was in Later Avestan one of the three heavens that led to the House of Song.

[1] Remembering that the *Daēva* were the old nature-gods, who got their bad character largely through the predatory behaviour of their devotees, this verse becomes very suggestive; it preserves the memory of a time when the Daevas had not yet fallen.

[2] In L. Av. *dvar* is a verb peculiar to the *daēva*n world: see p. 219.

[3] *Aēšma*, semi-personified here.

[4] Prof. A. V. W. Jackson (in *JAOS*, xv. lix. f.) showed that as Aramaiti is in special charge of the Earth, this involves the idea of a bodily resurrection for those who sleep in her bosom. We might add that it squares badly with the Magian doctrine that the Earth must not receive the bodies of the dead; it presumes burial as practised by the Iranians, and notably by the Achæmenian kings.

[5] *Ayaŋhā*, which in L. Av. was expanded into *ayah χšusta*, "molten metal." It is the flood which is to be poured out on the Last Day, which will burn up all evil, but leave the good unharmed.

[6] Lit. "become first over them," πρῶτος αὐτῶν—to use the idiom of Hellenistic Greek.

[7] *Fərašəm kərənāun ahūm*: the noun of this verbal phrase, *frašō·kərəti*, becomes in L. Av. a *term. techn.* for the Regeneration.

Mazdah, and ye other Ahuras,[1] gather together the Assembly,[2] and thou too the Right, that thoughts may meet where Wisdom is at home.[3]

10. Then truly on the Lie[4] shall come the destruction of delight[5]; but they that get them good name shall be partakers in the promised reward in the fair abode of Good Thought, of Mazdah, and of Right.

11. If, O ye mortals, ye mark those commandments that Mazdah hath ordained—of happiness and pain, the long punishment for the liars, and blessings for the righteous—then hereafter shall ye have bliss.

Yasna 31

1. Mindful of your commands, we proclaim words hard for them to hear that after the commands of the Lie destroy the creatures of Right, but most welcome to those that give their heart to Mazdah.

2. If by reason of these things the better part is not in sight for the soul, then will I come to you all as the judge of the parties twain,[6] whom Ahura Mazdah knoweth, that we may live according to the Right.

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[1] By an idiom frequently paralleled in Aryan, "ye Mazdah Ahuras" means "Mazdah and the others (see p. 241) who bear the title Ahura (Lord)."

[2] Probably best taken eschatologically, though Bartholomae renders "Eure Bundesgenossenschaft gewährend."

[3] So the tradition, and Mills in *SBE*. Justi (*Idg. Forsch.*, xviii. (1905–6), Anzeiger 36) defends it satisfactorily, I think. "Wisdom" is really "religion," in the familiar Old Testament sense: from *cisti* Zarathushtra named his daughter Pourucista, a φρόνιμος παρθένος according to the application of Matt. 25^2. The verse becomes a prayer for the speedy coming of the End, when good men's "thoughts" (*mană̊*) would dwell in "Good Thought" or Paradise, where Religion has her eternal home. Bartholomae differs widely, "wo die Einsicht noch schwankend ist"; Geldner has "wo noch der falsche Glaube besteht."

[4] That is on the followers of Druj.

[5] *Skendō spayaθrahyă* is very doubtful. Geldner, "der Untergang der Macht (?)"; Mills, "the blow of destruction": the tradition made *spayaθra* "army," and Tiele took it as a proper name of an angel of destruction. My rendering follows Bartholomae, but without any assurance. He compares *Ys* 53^6.

[6] The followers of Ahura and of the Daevas respectively. Zarathushtra declares himself to be the *ratu* appointed by Ahura.

3. What award thou givest by thy Spirit and thy Fire, and hast taught by Right, to the two parties,[1] and what decision unto the wise—this do thou tell us, Mazdah, that we may know, even with the tongue of thine own mouth, that I may convert all living men.

4. If Right is to be invoked and Mazdah and the other Ahuras,[2] and Destiny and Piety,[3] do thou seek for me, O thou Best Thought, the mighty Dominion, by the increase of which we might vanquish the Lie.

5. Tell me therefore what ye, O thou Right, have appointed me as the better portion, for me to determine, to know and to keep in mind, O thou Good Thought—which portion they envy me: tell me of all these things, O Mazdah Ahura, that shall not be or shall be.

6. To him shall the Best fall who as one that knows[4] speaks to me Right's very word[5] of Welfare and Immortality,[6] even that Dominion of Mazdah which Good Thought will prosper for him.

7. He that in the beginning thus thought,[7] "Let the blessed realms be filled with lights," he it is that by his wisdom created Right. Those realms that the Best Thought shall possess thou dost prosper, Mazdah, by thy spirit, which, O Ahura, is ever the same.

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[1] Believers and unbelievers. Geldner tr. "die beiden Schulden," that is "um Lohn und Strafe zu bestimmen."

[2] Bartholomae compares with this plural, "the Mazdah Ahuras," the phrase in the Behistan Inscription, "Auramazda and the other *bagas* that exist." So also Xerxes, "Auramazda with the *bagas*." He adds that Varuṇa is found in the plural in the Atharva Veda, meaning, I presume, "Varuṇa and his associates." Provided that we limit the *Ahuras* to Mazdah and the Six, with the other Gathic abstractions of the same class, we do not compromise Zarathushtra's unmistakable monotheism.

[3] *Aši* in the Gathas represents the eschatological award to good and bad. She is here put in close connexion with Aramaiti, the two nouns standing in the dual as an associated (*dvandva*) pair. [4] See p. 118.

[5] *Mąnθra*, teaching, doctrine : the word later fell to a mere "spell."

[6] So Bartholomae renders *haurvatātō ašahyā amərətatātasca*. I am not quite sure that we should not keep the order, with Asha between the other two Amesha—"the word of Welfare, Right, and Immortality."

[7] Bartholomae links with 6—"dessen der zu Anfang sich das ausdachte." See some comments on this stanza and the next in *ERPP*, 85.

8. I conceived of thee, O Mazdah, in my thought that thou, the First, art (also) the Last—that thou art Father of Good Thought, for thus I apprehended thee with mine eye—that thou didst truly create Right, and art the Lord (*ahurəm*) to judge the actions of life.

9. Thine was Piety, thine the Ox-Creator,[1] even wisdom of spirit, O Mazdah Ahura, for that thou didst give (the cattle) choice whether to depend on a husbandman or on one that is no husbandman.[2]

10. So of the twain it chose for itself the cattle-tending husbandman as its lord according to Right,[3] the man that advances Good Thought.[4] He that is no husbandman, O Mazdah, however eager he be, has no part in the good message.[5]

11. When thou, Mazdah, in the beginning didst create beings and (men's) Selves[6] by thy Thought, and intelligences—when thou didst make life clothed with body, when (thou madest) actions and teachings, whereby one may exercise choice at one's free will;

12. Then lifts up his voice the false speaker or the true speaker, he that knows or he that knows not, each according to his own heart and thought. Passing from one to another, Piety pleads with the spirit in which there is wavering.

13. Whatsoever open or secret things may be visited with judgement, or what man for a little sin demands the heaviest penalty—of all this through the Right thou art ware, observing them with flashing eye.

14. These things I ask thee, Ahura, how they shall come and issue—the requitals that in accord with the records are appointed for the righteous, and those, Mazdah, that belong to the liars, how these shall be when they come to the reckoning.

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[1] Bartholomae notes that Aramaiti and *Gə̄uš tašan* are linked because the former has the Earth as province.

[2] The nomad of the *daēvayasna*, a persistent cattle-raider.

[3] *Ahurəm ašaonəm*: note here *ahura* applied to a man, who is for the cattle what Ahura is to mankind.

[4] A good instance of Vohu Manah as lord of cattle.

[5] *Huməratōiš* (cf. Skt *smṛti*) is in etymology and meaning much like εὐαγγέλιον.

[6] *Daēnā*, "the sum of a man's spiritual and religious characteristics" (Bartholomae, *AirWb*, 666: see the whole note).

15. This I ask, what penalty is for him who seeks to achieve kingship for a liar,[1] for the man of ill deeds, O Ahura, who finds not his living without injury to the husbandman's cattle and men, though he does him no harm.

16. This I ask, whether the understanding man that strives to advance the Dominion over house or district or land by the Right, will be one like thee, O Mazdah Ahura—when he will be and how he will act.

17. Whether is greater, the belief of the righteous or of the liar? Let him that knows tell him that knows; let not him that knows nothing deceive any more. Be to us, O Mazdah Ahura, the teacher of Good Thought.

18. Let none of you listen to the liar's words and commands: he brings house and clan and district and land into misery and destruction. Resist them then with weapon!

19. To him should one listen who has the Right in his thought, a healer of life and one that knows—who, O Ahura, can establish the truth of the words of his tongue at will, when by thy red Fire, O Mazdah, the assignment is made to the two parties.[2]

20. Whoso cometh to the righteous one, far from him shall be the future long age of misery, of darkness, ill food, and crying of Woe! To such an existence, ye liars, shall your own Self bring you by your actions.[3]

21. Mazdah Ahura by virtue of his absolute lordship will give a perpetuity of communion with Welfare and Immortality and Right, with Dominion, with Good Thought, to him that in spirit and in actions is his friend.

22. Clear is it to the man of understanding, as one who has

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[1] Bartholomae thinks that here and in 18 we have personal allusions to a *daēvayasna* chief (*Bəndva*) and a teacher or priest (*Grəhma*) who were foremost in opposing Zarathushtra.

[2] It seems clear (despite Justi in *IdgF*, xviii., Anz. 35) that Zarathushtra means himself: he will fulfil his prophetic warnings at the last day, when their truth "is revealed in fire." For the dual *ra̱nayå̆* see *Ys* 31^{3} above.

[3] After Bartholomae. The *ašavan* is Zarathushtra. *Darəgəm āyū* (cognate with αἰών, *aevom*) no doubt means eternity, but the adjective is not decisive. For "ill food" cf. *Ys* 49^{11}; for "crying," *Ys* 53^{7}. Bartholomae takes *avaētās vacō* (lit. "woe!"-ness of voice) as an abstract from *avōi* (cf. οὐαί, *vae*). For *daėnā*, the Self, see v.^{11}.

realised it with his thought. He upholds Right together with the good Dominion by his word and deed. He shall be the most helpful companion[1] for thee, O Mazdah Ahura.

Yasna 32

1. *Zarathushtra.*—And his blessedness, even that of Ahura Mazdah, shall the nobles[2] strive to attain, his the community[2] with the brotherhood,[2] his, ye Daēva, in the manner I declare it.

Representatives of the Classes.—As thy messengers, we would keep them far away that are enemies to you.[3]

2. To them Mazdah Ahura, who is united with Good Thought,[4] and in goodly fellowship with glorious Right, through Dominion,[5] made reply: We make choice of your holy good Piety—it shall be ours.

3. *Zarathushtra.*—But ye, ye Daēvas all, and he[6] that highly honours you, are seed of the Bad Thought—yea, and of the

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[1] Bartholomae compares *asti* with Skt *atithi*, "guest": the primary idea will be one living in the same house.

[2] *X*^{v}*aētu*, *vərəzəna*, and *airyaman* are, on Bartholomae's scheme, the three ranks of the Zarathushtrian commonwealth: the nobles, the peasants or farmers, and the priests (*AirWb*, 908: see *ZAirWb*, 118 f.). Justi (*IFAnz.*, xviii. 39 f.) observes that the *airyaman* always stands last, "a modesty which the priestly profession has nowhere else shown." Moreover, he notes that *airyaman* in the Zend and Pāzend of the Avesta and in Pahlavi literature generally means "servant," and in Persian "an uninvited guest"—one, therefore, outside the family. I very much doubt whether there was any priestly order at all in Zarathushtra's system. The exclusion of the old Aryan *aθaurvan* from the Gathas can hardly be accidental; and in the place where *zaotar* occurs (*Ys* 33^6) there is no suggestion that it is a separate order. Justi would put the priests into the χ^v*aētu*, with the nobles and citizens. While I do not think *airyaman* means "priest," I do not feel satisfied with Justi's "Dienerschaft." The relation to the Vedic *aryaman*, and to the divinity which elsewhere in the Veda and Later Avesta attaches to the name, is far from clear. See above, p. 117.

[3] *I.e.* the Ahuras, Mazdah and the rest, as elsewhere.

[4] Cf. *Ys* 49^5.

[5] *Xšaθra*, as a quasi-personification of the Lordship of Mazdah, becomes the medium of the divine acceptance of the homage of the Zoroastrian community.

[6] Bartholomae regards this as directed definitely at *Grəhma*, the daēvayasnian teacher named in v.^{12} and elsewhere.

Lie and of Arrogance; likewise your deeds, whereby ye have long been known in the seventh region of the earth.[1]

4. For ye have brought it to pass that men who do the worst things shall be called beloved of the Daēvas,[2] separating themselves from Good Thought, departing from the will of Mazdah Ahura and from Right.

5. Thereby ye defrauded mankind of happy life and of immortality,[3] by the deed which he[4] and the Bad Spirit together with Bad Thought and Bad Word taught you, ye Daēvas, and the Liars, so as to ruin (mankind).

6. The many sins, by which he has attained to be known, whether by these it shall be thus,[5] this thou knowest by the Best Thought, O Ahura, who art mindful of man's desert. In thy Dominion, Mazdah, shall your sentence and that of the Right be passed.

7. None of these sins will the understanding commit, in eagerness to attain the blessing that shall be proclaimed, we know, through the glowing metal[6]—sins the issue of which, O Ahura Mazdah, thou knowest best.

8. In these sins,[7] we know, Yima was involved, Vivahvant's son, who desiring to satisfy men gave our people flesh of the ox to eat.[8] From these shall I be separated by thee, O Mazdah, at last.

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[1] "The central part of the earth, on which men live" (Geldner).

[2] *Daēvō-zuštā*, identical with *devájuṣṭa*, a compound found in the Rigveda to denote what is "acceptable to the *Devas*." The consciousness of the older reputation of the Daēvas is latent.

[3] On this see what is said above concerning Yima's Fall, p. 148 f.

[4] That is *Grəhma* again. It seems that this complex sentence intends to imply that the human heretic taught the "men of the Druj," and Aka Mainyu taught the Daēvas. (Geldner's tr., *Lesebuch*, 324.)

[5] As set forth in v.^{5}.

[6] On the Flood of Molten Metal, see p. 157.

[7] Bartholomae and Jackson take *aēšąm aēnaŋhąm* masc. here, "of these sinners," though B. makes the identical phrase neut. at the beginning of v.^{7}. This seems to me unlikely; and as *aēnā̊* in v.^{6} must be neuter, I prefer to take it so throughout.

[8] See on all this p. 149. It may be observed that Tiele (tr. Nariman, p. 76, or p. 90 f. in the German) argued for a new rendering which involved taking *srāvī* as active ("Vivanghat, son of Yima [a slip in the English], heard of this punishment")!

9. The teacher of evil destroys the lore, he by his teachings destroys the design of life, he prevents the possession of Good Thought from being prized. These words of my spirit I wail unto you, O Mazdah, and to the Right.

10. He it is that destroys the lore, who declares that the Ox and the Sun are the worst thing to behold with the eyes,[1] and hath made the pious into liars, and desolates the pastures and lifts his weapon against the righteous man.

11. It is they, the liars, who destroy life, who are mightily determined to deprive matron and master of the enjoyment of their heritage,[2] in that they would pervert the righteous, O Mazdah, from the Best Thought.

12. Since they by their lore would pervert men from the best doing, Mazdah utters evil against them, who destroy the life of the Ox with shouts of joy, by whom Grehma and his tribe[3] are preferred to the Right, and the Karapan[4] and the lordship of them that seek after the Lie.

13. Since Grehma shall attain the realms in the dwelling of the Worst Thought, he and the destroyers of this life, O Mazdah, they shall lament in their longing for the message of thy prophet, who will stay them from beholding of the Right.[5]

14. To his undoing Grehma and the Kavis[6] have long devoted their purposes and energies, for they set themselves to help the liar, and that it may be said "The Ox shall

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[1] According to Bartholomae's convincing exegesis, this points to nocturnal orgies of *daēva*-worshippers, associated with slaughter of cattle (query, a Mithraic *taurobolium*) and intoxication with haoma. See further above, p. 129 f.

[2] Bartholomae takes this of the heavenly inheritance, comparing κληρονομία in Ephes. 5[5]. This connects well with v.[12].

[3] Lit. "the Grehmas," as we say "the Joneses." This leader of Daēva-worship presides at the orgy.

[4] The name denoted priests of the *daēvayasna*, and is connected with Skt *kalpa*, "ritual."

[5] The beatific vision, for which they will unavailingly long when it is too late.

[6] A name of Iranian chieftains, appropriated (when used separately) to *daēvayasna* chiefs; but it had become already attached to the names of a dynasty of Mazdean kings, so that the term retains for Kavi Vishtaspa a good connotation.

be slain, that it may kindle the Averter of Death[1] to help us."

15. Thereby hath come to ruin the Karapan and the Kavi community, through those whom they will not have to rule over their life. These shall be borne away from them both to the dwelling of Good Thought.[2]

16. * * * *,[3] who hast power, O Mazdah Ahura, over him who threatens to be my undoing,[4] that I may fetter the men of the Lie in their violence against my friends.

Yasna 33

1. According as it is with the laws that belong to the present[5] life, so shall the Judge[6] act with most just deed towards the man of the Lie and the man of the Right, and him whose false things and good things balance.[7]

2. Whoso worketh ill for the liar by word or thought or hands, or converts his dependent to the good—such men meet the will of Ahura Mazdah to his satisfaction.

3. Whoso is most good to the righteous man, be he noble or member of the community or of the brotherhood,[8] Ahura—or with diligence cares for the cattle, he shall be hereafter in the pasture of Right and Good Thought.

4. I who by my worship would keep far from thee, O Mazdah,

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[1] *Dūraoša* is in L. Av. the standing epithet of Haoma, so that we have here a perfectly clear allusion to the old Aryan intoxicant which Zarathushtra banned.

[2] See above, p. 171, and cf. *Ys* 48^{10} below.

[3] Two words in this line, *ušuruyē syascīt̰*, defy all reasonable analysis and appear to be corrupt.

[4] Almost the same phrase in *Ys* 48^{9}. See *AirWb*, 763, for construction.

[5] Lit. "former," as often.

[6] The *ratu* is Zarathushtra himself, but this does not seriously militate against his authorship. One may compare Matt. 25^{34}.

[7] See the discussion of *hamistakân* above, p. 175 f., and *ERPP*, p. 98 f. To the note on p. 175 it may be added that the old reading *hə̄myāsaitē* is altered to *hə̄məmyāsaitē*, from root *myas*, to mix, in Geldner's great critical edition, with a decided preponderance of MSS. Cf. *Ys* 48^{4}.

[8] See note on *Ys* 32^{1}.

disobedience and Bad Thought,[1] heresy[2] from the nobles, and from the community the Lie that is most near,[3] and from the brotherhood the slanderers, and the worst herdsman from the pasture of the cattle;—

5. I who would invoke thy Obedience as greatest of all at the Consummation,[4] attaining eternal[5] life, and the Dominion of Good Thought, and the straight ways unto Right, wherein Mazdah Ahura dwells;

6. I, as a priest,[6] who would learn the straight (paths) by the Right, would learn by the Best Spirit[7] how to practise husbandry by that thought in which it is thought of: these Twain of thine,[8] O Ahura Mazdah, I strive to see and to take counsel with them.

7. Come hither to me, O ye Best Ones, hither, O Mazdah, in thine own person and visibly, O Right and Good Thought, that I may be heard beyond the limits of the people.[9] Let the august duties be manifest among us and clearly viewed.

8. Consider ye my matters whereon I am active, O Good Thought, my worship, O Mazdah, towards one like you,[1] and, O thou Right, the words of my praise. Grant, O Welfare and Immortality, your own everlasting blessing.[2]

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[1] Lit. "would worship away."

[2] *tarə̄maitīm*, the converse of *aramaiti* in usage, whether or no the latter's etymology was rightly assumed.

[3] *Druj* here is like Darius's *drauga*, an enemy's violence.

[4] *avaŋhāna*, Vedic *avasā́na*, "goal" (*Ruheort* in Grassmann), here of course eschatological, συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος.

[5] *darəgō·jyāitīm*, as elsewhere, lit. "*long* life," but its context regularly justifies the other word.

[6] *Zaotā*, Skt *hotar*: the L. Av. *āθravan* is not found in the Gathas, and this old Aryan title only occurs here. See p. 116–8.

[7] Note that *Vahistəm Manō* has here become *V. Mainyūš*.

[8] Asha and Vohu Manah: cf. *Ys.* 28^{5}, 47^{3}.

[9] *Magaonō*, which Bartholomae here and in *Ys* 51^{15} renders "Bündler." But if Carnoy is right (see note on *Ys* 29^{11}), it means "the rich," especially as supporters of the priests (?) and the cultus. I have doubts on this last detail: see p. 116 f.

[1] Cf. *Ys* 29^{11} and note. *Xšmāvant*, "vestri similis," always means "one of you Ahuras," Mazdah with his associates.

[2] That is "welfare and immortality."

9. That Spirit of thine, Mazdah, together with the comfort of the Comrades twain,[1] who advance the Right, let the Best Thought bring through the Reform wrought by me.[2] Sure is the support of those twain, whose souls are one.

10. All the pleasures of life which thou holdest, those that were, that are, and that shall be, O Mazdah, according to thy good will apportion them. Through Good Thought advance thou the body, through Dominion and Right at will.

11. The most mighty Ahura Mazdah, and Piety, and Right that blesses our substance, and Good Thought and Dominion —hearken unto me, be merciful to me, when to each man the Recompense comes.

12. Rise up for me, O Ahura, through Piety give strength, through the holiest Spirit give might, O Mazdah, through the good Recompense, through the Right give powerful prowess, through Good Thought give the Reward.[3]

13. To support me, O thou that seest far onward, do ye assure me the incomparable things of your Dominion, O Ahura, as the Destiny[4] of Good Thought.[5] Holy Piety, teach men's Self the Right.

14. As an offering Zarathushtra brings the life of his own body,[6] the choiceness of good thought, action, and speech, unto Mazdah, unto the Right, Obedience and Dominion.[7]

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[1] Haurvatat and Ameretat, who were named in v.^{8}.

[2] Bartholomae observes (*AirWb*, 1107) that Geldner has given at different times three different versions of this passage. His own translation makes good sense, but is far from convincing when confronted with the original. I follow him here, but without any assurance. *Maeθā mayā* he takes as lit. "through my change"; but *maēθā* in *Ys* 31^{12} means "wavering," which is not a support for the lexicographer's rendering here.

[3] Eschatological, like *ādā* (tr. "recompense"). Cf. *Ys*. 51^{7}. Twice in the G. Hapt. we find "the good *fsəratū*, the good *Aramaiti*."

[4] *Aši*, an eschatological term meaning much the same as *ādā* and *fsəratū*. In L. Av. Ashi Vanguhi is a *yazata*: see *ERPP*, 147.

[5] Cf. *Ys* 46^{2}.

[6] The thought is not unlike Rom. 12^{1}.

[7] Zarathushtra brings "Dominion" to Mazdah by bringing "Obedience."

Yasna 34

1. The action, the word, and the worship by which I will give for thee[1] Immortality and Right, O Mazdah, and the Dominion of Welfare—through multitudes of these, O Ahura, we would that thou shouldst give them.

2. And all the actions of the good spirit and the holy man,[2] whose soul follows with Right, do ye[3] set with the thought (thereof) in thine outer court,[4] O Mazdah, when ye[3] are adored[5] with hymns of praise.

3. To thee and to Right we will offer the sacrifice[6] with due service, that[7] in (thy established) Dominion ye may bring all creatures to perfection through Good Thought. For the reward of the wise man is for ever secure, O Mazdah, among you.[8]

4. Of thy Fire,[9] O Ahura, that is mighty through Right, promised and powerful, we desire that it may be for the faithful man with manifested delight, but for the enemy with visible torment, according to the pointings of the hand.[1]

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[1] This is Bartholomae's earlier view; he now gives "für die Du o Mazdah . . . verleihen wirst." The other seems to me much easier grammatically, and sound in sense. The Prophet declares that he will be judge at the last by the message he gives; cf. John 12^{48}. This is not inconsistent with the supreme Judgeship of Ahura. See p. 167 f.

[2] Bartholomae in his translation (p. 47) takes both of these collectively, describing the pious community. In *AirWb*, 864, he makes "the holy man" Zarathushtra—less probably, I think.

[3] As elsewhere, the plural includes Mazdah and the other Ahuras.

[4] The *pairigaēθā* is "the place, in later times called the Treasury, where good deeds are stored up until the final Reckoning" (Bartholomae, comparing his note on *Ys* 28^{11}).

[5] Lit. "at the adoring those of your company": Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 1404) says "*bei*, in kausalem Sinn."

[6] *myazda*, an offering of food, as distinguished from *zaoθra*, a drink offering.

[7] Reading *yā* for *yā*, with Bartholomae.

[8] Lit. "those like you"—the same word as in v.^{2} (note ^{3}).

[9] The *ayah χšusta*, flood of molten metal: see p. 157.

[1] The Bundahish (30^{12}) says, "Afterwards they set the righteous man apart from the wicked." The separation (cf. the "Bridge of the Separater") is conceived as indicated by motion of the Judge's hand pointing. *Ys* 43^4 may show that the "hand" is Mazdah's, as we should expect.

5. Have ye Dominion and power, O Mazdah, Right and Good Thought, to do as I urge upon you, even to protect your poor man? We have renounced all robber-gangs, both demons and men.

6. If ye are truly thus, O Mazdah, Right and Good Thought, then give[1] me this token, even a total reversal of this life,[2] that I may come before you again more joyfully with worship and praise.

7. Can they be true to thee, O Mazdah, who by their doctrine turn the known inheritances of Good Thought into misery and woe [. .][3]? I know none other but you, O Right: so do ye protect us.

8. For by these actions they put us in fear, in which peril is for many—in that he the stronger (puts in fear) me the weaker one—through hatred of thy commandment, O Mazdah. They that will not have the Right in their thought, from them shall the Good Thought[4] be far.

9. Those men of evil actions who spurn the holy Piety, precious to thy wise one, O Mazdah, through their having no part in Good Thought, from them Right shrinks back far, as from us shrink the wild beasts of prey.

10. The man of understanding has promised to cling to the actions of this Good Thought, and to the holy Piety, creator, comrade of Right—wise that he is, and to all the hopes, Ahura, that are in thy Dominion, O Mazdah.

11. And both thy (gifts) shall be for sustenance, even Welfare

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[1] Bartholomae parses *dātā* as 2 pl., which would require *vīspąm maēθąm* (a very slight change) in the next line, unless there is anacoluthon.

[2] That the unseen world would involve an *ἀναστάτωσις* of the conditions of the present is assumed: the sorely tried Prophet asks for some token of Divine favour here and now.

[3] *ušəurū* is instr. sing. of a noun which Bartholomae gives up as inexplicable. Geldner made it "energy," others "intelligence," etc. Certainly it is hard to defend it from the suspicion of complete corruption. The whole sentence is doubtful, as the differences of the doctors show.

[4] Here, as in *Ys* 30^4, Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 1133) would make *manō* a different word (cognate with *μένω*, *maneo*), with "Wohnstatt" as meaning. But it seems very unlikely that such a combination as *vohū manō* should have an alternative meaning; and "Good Thought" is a very natural name for Paradise: see p. 171.

and Immortality.[1] Piety linked with Right shall advance the Dominion of Good Thought, its[2] permanence and power. By these, O Mazdah, dost thou bless the foes of thy foes.[3]

12. What is thine ordinance? What willest thou? what of praise or what of worship? Proclaim it, Mazdah, that we may hear what ordinances[4] Destiny[5] will apportion. Teach us by Right the paths of Good Thought that are blessed to go in—

13. even that way of Good Thought, O Ahura, of which thou didst speak to me, whereon, a way well made by Right, the Selves of the future benefactors[6] shall pass to the reward that was prepared for the wise, of which thou art determinant, O Mazdah.

14. That precious reward, then, O Mazdah, ye will give by the action of Good Thought to the bodily life of those who are in the community that tends[7] the pregnant cow, (the promise of) your good doctrine, Ahura, that of the wisdom which exalts communities through Right.

15. O Mazdah, make known to me the best teachings and actions, these, O Good Thought, and, O Right, the due of praise. Through your Dominion, O Ahura, assure us that mankind shall be capable[8] according to (thy) will.

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[1] Bartholomae (with the Pahlavi) renders "der Wohlfahrtstrank und die Unsterblichkeitsspeise," ambrosia and nectar, which is likely enough.

[2] Or the "permanence and power" (*utayūitī təvīšī*) may be that of the beatified: there is no pronoun.

[3] So Bartholomae, but his bold explanation of *θwōi* as an infin. from a verbal root with no known cognates ("Etym.?" *AirWb*, 798) seems to rest on slender foundations. (Still, I might suggest that a root *θwā* is an obviously paralleled by-form for *tav*, with the meaning *augere*.) His explanation of *vīdvaēšąm* (for *-aŋhąm*—see *AirWb*, 1446) as "anti-enemy" is supported by Skt *vidveṣas*. But it must be noted that this is one of a great many places where Bartholomae stands alone.

[4] *Rāzan* here means the final judgement of weal or woe: at the beginning of the stanza it may be more general.

[5] *Aši*, a *yazata* in Later Avesta resembling the Latin Fortuna. In *Ys* 31[4] she is closely linked with Aramaiti. Cf. note on *Ys* 33[13].

[6] *Saošyantąm*. On *daēnā*, "ego," see p. 263 f.

[7] Lit. "of."

[8] *frašəm*, the word that forms the (later) abstract *frašōkərəti*, the Regeneration.

II. Gatha Uštavaiti

Yasna 43

1. To each several man, to whom may Mazdah Ahura ruling at his will[1] grant after the (petitioner's) will,[1] I will after his will[1] that he attain permanence and power,[2] lay hold of Right[3] —grant me this, O Piety,—the destined gifts[4] of wealth, the life of the Good Thought;

2. and it shall be for him the best[5] of all things. After his longing for bliss may one be given bliss,[6] through thy provident most holy spirit, O Mazdah, even the blessings of Good Thought which thou wilt give through Right all the days with joy of enduring life.[7]

3. May he[8] attain to that which is better than good, who would teach us the straight paths to blessedness in this life here of body and in that of thought—true paths that lead to the world where Ahura dwells—a faithful man, well-knowing and holy like thee, O Mazdah.[9]

4. Then shall[1] I recognise thee as strong and holy, Mazdah, when by the hand[2] in which thou thyself dost hold the destinies that thou wilt assign to the Liar and the Righteous, by the glow of thy Fire whose power is Right, the might of Good Thought shall come to me.

[1] There is intentional repetition of *uštā* (bis) and *vasə̄*, both from the root *vas* (Skt *vaç*, Gk ἑκών, etc.), and meaning the same.

[2] Eschatological (cf. *Ys* 34^{11}), as are the remaining phrases: eternal life and strength in Paradise is meant.

[3] *Aša* here means virtually Paradise, as the final abode of the Ideal.

[4] *ašīš*: on this see *Ys* 34^{12} and note.

[5] *Vahišta* became in Middle Persian (as in the Turfan MSS.) the special name for Paradise.

[6] *χᵛāθra*, lit. "good breathing" (Bartholomae), like ἀναπνοή.

[7] *Darəgō·jyāiti*, "long life," means "everlasting," as does *vīspā ayārə̄*, "πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας."

[8] The community may be supposed to speak of their Prophet, whether or no he himself is author here. Note that he speaks in the first person till v.^{16}.

[9] On this characteristic division of existence into corporeal and spiritual, which cuts horizontally the other division into good and evil, see p. 292.

[1] An anticipation of the End introduces a series of visions in which the Prophet has recognised the attributes of Mazdah; note the change of tense.

[2] See *Ys* 34^{4} and note.

5. As the holy one I recognised thee, Mazdah Ahura, when I saw[1] thee in the beginning at the birth of Life, when thou madest actions and words to have their meed—evil for the evil, a good Destiny for the good—through thy wisdom when creation shall reach its goal.[2]

6. At which goal thou wilt come with thy holy Spirit, O Mazdah, with Dominion, at the same with Good Thought, by whose action the settlements[3] will prosper through Right. Their judgements[4] shall Piety proclaim, even those of thy wisdom which none can deceive.

7. As the holy one I recognised thee, Mazdah Ahura, when Good Thought came to me and asked me, "Who art thou? to whom dost thou belong? By what sign wilt thou[5] appoint the days for questioning about thy possessions and thyself?"

8. Then I said to him: "To the first (question), Zarathushtra am I, a true foe to the Liar, to the utmost of my power, but a powerful support would I be to the Righteous, that I may attain the future things of the infinite[6] Dominion, according as I praise and sing[7] thee, Mazdah.

9. As the holy one I recognised thee, Mazdah Ahura, when Good Thought came to me. To his question, "For which wilt

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[1] "In vision," Geldner and Bartholomae. It is strange that Tiele (*Religionsg.*, 100) should have inferred that for the writer Zarathushtra is a saint of the dim past. On such rickety foundations are mythological theories based!

[2] Lit. "at the last turning-point of creation"— the *frašōkərəti.*

[3] *Gaēθå*, "Haus und Hof," Bartholomae: so Mills and the Pahlavi. Geldner, "die Leute."

[4] *Aēibyō* Bartholomae takes as ablative, referring back to the *ahuras* just named. Geldner would take *ratūš* in its regular personal sense—Bartholomae gives no other ex. for *iudicium*—and renders "Diesen (den frommen Menschen) proklamiert Ârmaiti die geistlichen Herren deines Ratschlusses."

[5] So Bartholomae, parsing *dīšā* as 2 sg. aor. mid. from *daēs.* Geldner makes it 1 sg. (act. subj.).

[6] *vasasə·χšaθra*: so Bartholomae, making it a compound, lit. "sovranty at will." Geldner separates *vasasə* and renders "nach meinem Wunsch."

[7] *vaf*, properly to "weave," used of the artistic fitting together of words —cf. ῥάπτειν ἀοιδήν. The word is interesting from its suggestion of a poetical tradition, first cousin to the Vedic.

thou decide?" (I made reply), "At the gift of adoration to thy Fire, I will bethink me of Right so long as I have power.

10. Then show me Right, upon whom I call."

Mazdah.—"Associating him[1] with Piety, I have come hither. Ask us now what things we are here for thee to ask. For thine asking is as that of a mighty one, since he that is able should make thee as a mighty one possessed of thy desire."

11. As the holy one I recognised thee, Mazdah Ahura, when Good Thought came to me, when first by your words I was instructed. Shall it bring me sorrow among men, my devotion, in doing that which ye tell me is the best?

12. And when thou saidst to me, "To Right shalt thou go for teaching," then thou didst not command what I did not obey: "Speed thee,[2] ere my Obedience[3] come, followed by treasure-laden Destiny, who shall render to men severally the destinies of the twofold award."

13. As the holy one I recognised thee, Mazdah Ahura, when Good Thought came to me to learn the state of my desire. Grant it me, that which none may compel you to allow, (the wish) for long continuance of blessed existence that they say is in thy Dominion.

14. If thy provident aid, such as an understanding man who has the power would give to his friend, comes to me by thy Dominion through Right, then to set myself in opposition against the foes of thy Law, together with all those who are mindful of thy words!

15. As the holy one I recognised thee, Mazdah Ahura, when Good Thought came to me, when the still mind taught me to declare what is best[4]: "Let not a man seek again and again to please the Liars, for they make all the righteous enemies."[5]

16. And thus Zarathushtra himself, O Ahura, chooses that

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[1] Lit. "it," for Aša is neuter.

[2] To the work of propaganda. Bartholomae observes, "The renovation (*Tauglichmachung*) of mankind must be accomplished speedily, for the beginning of the Second Life is conceived as near at hand: cf. Matt. 3^2, 4^{17}." See p. 159.

[3] *Sraoša*, later associated with the Amshaspands. He is an angel of Judgement: see p. 169.

[4] *vahištā* might be an epithet of *tušnāmaitiš* (which seems to be a conscious parallel to Aramaiti), but the other is better.

[5] *angra.*

spirit of thine that is holiest, Mazdah. May Right be embodied, full of life and strength! May Piety abide in the Dominion where the sun shines! May Good Thought give destiny to men according to their works!

Yasna 44

1. This I ask thee, tell me truly, Ahura—as to prayer, how it should be to one of you.[1] O Mazdah, might one like thee[1] teach it to his friend such as I am,[1] and through friendly Right give us support, that Good Thought may come unto us.

2. This I ask thee, tell me truly, Ahura—whether at the beginning of the Best Existence the recompenses shall bring blessedness to him that meets with them. Surely he, O Right, the holy one, who watches in his spirit the transgression of all, is himself the benefactor unto all that lives, O Mazdah.[2]

3. This I ask thee, tell me truly, Ahura. Who is by generation the Father of Right, at the first? Who determined the path of sun and stars? Who is it by whom the moon waxes and wanes again? This, O Mazdah, and yet more, I am fain to know.

4. This I ask thee, tell me truly, Ahura. Who upheld the earth beneath and the firmament from falling? Who the waters and the plants? Who yoked swiftness to winds and clouds? Who is, O Mazdah, creator of Good Thought?

5. This I ask thee, tell me truly, Ahura. What artist made light and darkness?[3] What artist made sleep and waking? Who made morning, noon, and night, that call the understanding man to his duty?

6. This I ask thee, tell me truly, Ahura—whether what I shall proclaim is verily the truth. Will Right with its actions give aid (at the last)? will Piety? Will Good Thought announce from thee the Dominion? For whom hast thou made the pregnant cow[4] that brings good luck?

7. This I ask thee, tell me truly, Ahura. Who created

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[1] On these words *χšmāvant*, *θwāvant*, *mavant*, which may mean nearly the same as the pronoun without the possessive suffix, see note on p. 359.

[2] I have attempted a rimed version of these two stanzas as an experiment in *ERPP*, 102 f.

[3] On this striking contrast to the Magian dualism, see p. 291.

[4] "In Zarathushtra's teaching the symbol of good fortune: cf. *Ys* 47^3, 50^2" (Bartholomae).

together with Dominion the precious Piety? Who made by wisdom the son obedient to his father? I strive to recognise by these things thee, O Mazdah, creator of all things through the holy spirit.

8. This I ask thee, tell me truly, Ahura. I would keep in mind thy design, O Mazdah, and understand aright the maxims of life which I ask of Good Thought and Right. How will my soul partake of the good that gives increase?

9. This I ask thee, tell me truly, Ahura—whether for the Self[1] that I would bring to perfection, that of the man of insight, the Lord of the Dominion would make me promises of the sure Dominion, one of thy likeness,[2] O Mazdah, who dwells in one abode[3] with Good Thought.

10. This I ask thee, tell me truly, Ahura. The Religion[4] which is the best for (all) that are, which in union with Right should prosper all that is mine, will they duly observe it, the religion of my creed, with the words and action of Piety, in desire for thy (future) good things, O Mazdah?

11. This I ask thee, tell me truly, Ahura—whether Piety will extend to those to whom thy Religion[4] shall be proclaimed? I was ordained at the first by thee: all others I look upon with hatred of spirit.

12. This I ask thee, tell me truly, Ahura. Who among those with whom I would speak is a righteous man, and who a liar?[5] On which side is the enemy?[6] (On this), or is he the enemy, the Liar[5] who opposes thy blessings?[7] How shall it be with him? Is he not to be thought of as an enemy?

13. This I ask thee, tell me truly, Ahura—whether we shall

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[1] *Daēnā*: see p. 263 f. Bartholomae notes, as important for the connexion with the "soul" of v.^{8}, that *daēnā* also means "religion," as it does in v.^{10}.

[2] *θwāvant*: see note on p. 359.

[3] *Hadam.* The Greek σύμβωμος suggests itself, and Strabo's mention (p. 512) of τὸ τῆς Ἀναΐτιδος καὶ τῶν συμβώμων θεῶν ἱερὸν . . . Ὠμάνου καὶ Ἀναδάτου Περσικῶν δαιμόνων. Two Amshaspands accordingly were σύμβωμοι in Cappadocia, in a shrine of Anâhita. The point is discussed above, p. 100 f.

[4] *Daēnā*: see note on v.^{9}.

[5] Of course in the technical sense, following the *Druj* instead of *Aša*.

[6] *angra*, which Dr Casartelli (p. 137 n. above) would like to keep as an allusion to Ahriman. Geldner renders "Art thou thyself the enemy, or is he . . .?" See p. 135 n.

[7] Those of the future life.

drive the Lie away from us to those who being full of disobedience will not strive after fellowship with Right, nor trouble themselves with counsel of Good Thought.

14. This I ask thee, tell me truly, Ahura—whether I could put the Lie into the hands of Right, to cast her down by the words of thy lore, to work a mighty destruction among the Liars, to bring torments upon them and enmities, O Mazdah.

15. This I ask thee, tell me truly, Ahura—if thou hast power over this to ward it off from me through Right, when the two opposing hosts[1] meet in battle according to those decrees which thou wilt firmly establish. Whether is it of the twain that thou wilt give victory?

16. This I ask thee, tell me truly, Ahura. Who is victorious to protect by thy doctrine (all) that are? By vision assure me how to set up the judge that heals the world.[2] Then let him have Obedience coming with Good Thought unto every man whom thou desirest, O Mazdah.

17. This I ask thee, tell me truly, Ahura—whether through you I shall attain my goal, O Mazdah, even attachment unto you, and that my voice may be effectual, that Welfare and Immortality may be ready to unite according to that promise with him who joins himself with Right.

18. This I ask thee, tell me truly, Ahura—whether I shall indeed, O Right, earn that reward, even ten mares with a stallion and a camel,[3] which was promised to me, O Mazdah, as well as through thee the future gift of Welfare and Immortality.

19. This I ask thee, tell me truly, Ahura. He that will not give that reward to him that earns it, even to the man who fulfilling his word gives him (what he undertook)—what penalty shall come to him for the same at this present? I know that which shall come to him at the last.

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[1] *spādā* (cf. M.P. *sipah*, whence our *sepoy*), the hosts of Mazdayasnians and Daevayasnians; or perhaps rather the spiritual forces in the great Armageddon that precedes the Renovation.

[2] This seems to be Zarathushtra himself—he is praying for a vision that may openly confirm his designation as a prophet.

[3] See p. 155. It is sufficiently obvious that this is a touch of reality, enough to reduce to absurdity any theory that makes these Gathas move in the sphere of the mystical and the mythical alone.

20. Have the Daēvas ever exercised good dominion? And this I ask of those who see how for the Daēvas' sake the *Karapan* and the *Usij*[1] gave the cattle to violence,[2] and how the *Kavi*[1] made them continually to mourn, instead of taking care[3] that they may make the pastures prosper through Right.

Yasna 45

1. I will speak forth: hear now and hearken now, ye from near and ye from far that desire (instruction). Now observe him[4] in your mind, all of you, for he is revealed. Never shall the false Teacher destroy the Second Life,[5] the Liar, in perversion by his tongue unto evil belief.

2. I will speak of the Spirits twain at the first beginning of the world,[6] of whom the holier thus spake to the enemy:[7] "Neither thought nor teachings nor wills nor beliefs nor words nor deeds nor selves[8] nor souls of us twain agree."

3. I will speak of that which Mazdah Ahura, the all-knowing, revealed to me first in this (earthly) life.[9] Those of you that put not in practice this word as I think and utter it, to them shall be woe at the end of life.

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[1] See above, pp. 140, 357.

[2] *aēšma*—see p. 130.

[3] This rendering of Bartholomae's involves the making of a new verb *maēz*, for which the lexicographer can give no parallel nearer than the Middle High German *smeichen* "schön tun." I am strongly tempted by Prof. Söderblom's argument (*RHR*, 1909, p. 334 f.), but neither he nor Prof. Geldner (*Lesebuch*, 325) seems altogether to solve the difficulty of getting the ordinary root, *maēz* (*mingere*—Skt *meh*), to work in here: are we to think of liquid manure?

[4] The absence of indication who is meant may possibly be put down with the signs that the Gathas have a context that is lost. Geldner understands the false teacher to be intended, Bartholomae Ahura Mazdah: the former seems to be more probable.

[5] The Future Life. It is possible also to render "never again shall he destroy life" (so Geldner).

[6] *aŋhəuš*, the word rendered "life" in v.[1].

[7] *aŋrəm*: this is the one occurrence of the afterwards stereotyped title in the Gathas: see p. 135.

[8] *Daēnå*: see note on *Ys* 44[9].

[9] Geldner, "as first (most important) in this life"; Bartholomae, "at the beginning of this life," which matches the use elsewhere, but only suits the context if it means that the revelation concerns the immediate present.

4. I will speak of what is best[1] for this life. Through Right doth Mazdah know it,[2] who created the same as father of the active Good Thought, and the daughter thereof is Piety of goodly action. Not to be deceived is the all-seeing Ahura.

5. I will speak of that which the Holiest declared to me as the word that is best for mortals to obey: he, Mazdah Ahura (said), "They who at my bidding render him[3] obedience, shall all attain unto Welfare and Immortality by the actions of the Good Spirit."

6. I will speak of him that is greatest of all, praising him, O Right, who is bounteous to all that live. By the holy spirit let Mazdah Ahura hearken, in whose adoration I have been instructed by Good Thought. By his wisdom let him teach me what is best,

7. even he whose two awards, whereof he ordains, men shall attain, whoso are living or have been or shall be. In immortality[4] shall the soul of the righteous be joyful, in perpetuity shall be the torments of the Liars. All this doth Mazdah Ahura appoint by his Dominion.

8. Him thou shouldst seek to bring to us by praises of worship. "Now have I seen it with mine eye, that which is of the good spirit and of (good) action and word, knowing by Right Mazdah Ahura." May we offer him homage in the House of Song!

9. Him thou shouldst seek to propitiate for us together with Good Thought, who at his will maketh us weal or woe. May Mazdah Ahura by his Dominion bring us to work, for prospering

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[1] The Pahlavi characteristically glosses this as the next-of-kin marriage! We can safely assume that the *vahištəm* is the good doctrine of agriculture as practical virtue.

[2] Both Geldner and Bartholomae render "I have learnt it, O Mazdah," reading *Mazdā*. But there seems no gain in bringing in the address. What we seem to need here is an accus. *Mazdąm* (cf. Mills, *Gathas*, p. 541), which would enable us to recognise Mazdah as the "Father" of Vohu Manah and Aramaiti, as regularly in later times. The MSS. waver between *Mazdā* and *Mazdā̊* (nom.). With *Mazdąm* we should render: "Through Right I know Mazdah, who created it [*sc.* this best thing in life], as father of the active Good Thought, and his daughter is Aramaiti."

[3] Zarathushtra.

[4] *Amərətāitī*: Bartholomae renders "in eternity," as in *Ys* 48^1: see p. 173.

our beasts and our men, so that we may through Right have familiarity with Good Thought.

10. Him thou shouldst seek to exalt with prayers of Piety, him that is called Mazdah Ahura[1] for ever, for that he hath promised through his own Right and Good Thought that Welfare and Immortality shall be in his Dominion,[2] strength and perpetuity in his house.

11. Whoso therefore in the future lightly esteemeth the Daēvas and those mortals who lightly esteem him[3]—even all others save that one who highly esteemeth him,—unto him shall the holy Self of the future deliverer,[4] as Lord of the house, be friend, brother, or father, O Mazdah Ahura.

Yasna 46

1. To what land shall I go to flee, whither to flee? From nobles and my peers they sever me, nor are the people[5] pleased with me [. . .[6]], nor the Liar rulers of the land. How am I to please thee, Mazdah Ahura?

2. I know wherefore I am without success, Mazdah: (because) few cattle are mine, and for that I have but few folk. I cry unto thee, see thou to it, Ahura, granting me support as friend gives to friend. Teach me by the Right the acquisition[7] of Good Thought.

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[1] "Wise Lord"—the title needs translating.

[2] All the Amshaspands are named here, and in marked dependence on Ahura. Note, however, that the dvandva *təvīšī utayūitī* (p. 114) in the last line is exactly parallel with *haurvatātā amərətātā*, a similar pair of duals, in the line above, nor is there any real difference between Mazdah's "Dominion" and his "House." So the Amshaspands are no closed community. See above, p. 96 f.

[3] See v.^{5}

[4] *Saošyant*, that is Zarathushtra himself, in that he believed he would in his own lifetime bring the eschatological Renovation. Note the curious verbal parallel to Mark 3^{35}, with *də̄ng pati* (=δεσπότης) recalling Matt. 13^{27} and $20.^{1}$ Cf. notes in *ERPP*, 106 f.

[5] These are the three social divisions: see p. 117 f.

[6] The word *hə̄cā* is corrupt and has not been successfully emended. It seems to have disappeared before the Pahlavi translation, in which it is omitted.

[7] *īštīm*. Geldner, "Streben nach," which is attractive, connecting it with *īžā*. Bartholomae understands it as a prayer that Paradise may be revealed so as to spur men to good life: he compares *Ys* 28^{5}, 30^{4}, 31^{3}, 44^{10}, 47^{6}, 48^{2}.

3. When, Mazdah, shall the sunrisings[1] come forth for the world's winning of Right, through the powerful teachings of the wisdom of the future Deliverers?[2] Who are they to whose help Good Thought shall come?[3] I have faith that thou wilt thyself fulfil this for me, O Ahura.

4. The Liar stays the supporters of Right from prospering the cattle in district and province, infamous that he is, repellant by his actions. Whoso, Mazdah, robs him of dominion or of life, he shall go before and prepare the ways of the good belief.[4]

5. If an understanding man should be able to hold one who comes over from his vow and his ties of faith,[5] himself having brought him thereto, and living after the ordinance, a righteous man (converting) a Liar—then shall he tell it to the nobles, that they may protect him from injury, O Mazdah Ahura.[6]

6. But whoso when thus approached should refuse his aid, he shall go to the abodes of the company of the Lie. For he is himself a Liar who is very good to a Liar, he is a righteous man to whom a righteous man is dear; since thou createdst men's Selves in the beginning,[7] Ahura.

7. Whom, O Mazdah, can one appoint as protector for one like me, when the Liar sets himself to injure me, other than

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[1] A difficult word, as to which Bartholomae has now (*Zum AirWb*, 145 f.) changed his view, in consequence of a criticism by Justi (*Indog. Forsch. Anzeiger*, xviii. 21). Returning to an old suggestion of his own, he regards *ašnąm uχšan* as influenced by *hū vaχša* "sunrise," from a transitive sense of *vaχš*, "der die Tage emporsteigen lässt," a description of the Dawn. Justi translates with the Pahlavi "increasers of the days," referring to the *Saōšyantō*. Bartholomae objects that in *Ys* 50^{10} the same phrase must apply to the dawn.

[2] See n.[5] on previous page.

[3] Both lines concern the "Future Deliverers," that is, in Zarathushtra's thought, himself and his comrades in the work of the Faith.

[4] Bartholomae observes that this is a hint to Vishtaspa that he should wage war with the Daēvayasnian chiefs. If so, we have presumably passed the point in this certainly composite hymn where the conditions of the opening apply. There the Prophet is helpless and friendless: the royal convert has not yet been won, as he clearly has been in v.^{14}.

[5] *miθrōibyō*—the sole occurrence of the word *miθra* in the Gathas, in the sense "compact" which is common later. See p. 63.

[6] Here accordingly it is assumed that the *χ^{v}aētu* (see on v.^{1}) is on the side of the Faith: cf. note on v.^{4}.

[7] Cf. *Ys* 31^{11}, and p. 263 above.

thy Fire and thy Thought,[1] through the actions of which twain the Right will come to maturity, O Ahura? In this lore[2] do thou instruct my very Self.

8. Whoso is minded to injure my possessions, from his actions may no harm come to me! Back upon himself may they come with hostility, against his own person, all the hostile (acts), to keep him far from the Good Life, Mazdah, not from the ill!

9. Who is it, a faithful man he, who first taught that we honour thee as mightiest to help, as the holy righteous Lord[3] over action? What thy Right made known, what the Ox-creator[4] made known to Right, they would fain hear through thy Good Thought.

10. Whoso, man or woman, doeth what thou, Mazdah Ahura, knowest as best in life, as destiny for what is Right (give him) the Dominion through Good Thought. And those whom I impel to your adoration,[5] with all these will I cross the Bridge of the Separater.[6]

11. By their dominion the Karapans and Kavis[7] accustomed mankind to evil actions, so as to destroy Life. Their own soul and their own self shall torment them[8] when they come where the Bridge of the Separater is, to all time dwellers in the House of the Lie.

12. When among the laudable descendants and posterity of the Turanian Fryāna[9] the Right ariseth, through activity of Piety

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[1] "Thy Thought" is the same as "Good" or "Best Thought," the Amshaspand: see p. 97. Note the close linking of Atar and Vohumanah.

[2] *dąstvā*, whence the Modern Persian *dast*, that gives the title *Dastur*.

[3] *Ahurəm*, which here must be translated.

[4] On *gə̄uš tašan*, see p. 347.

[5] *χšmāvatąm*, "those like you (Ahuras)" : see p. 359.

[6] See p. 164 f.

[7] See p. 357.

[8] See p. 263 f.

[9] The Turanians became the traditional enemies of Iran: such names as *Fraŋrasyan* (Afrâsiâb) and *Arjat̰·aspa* (Arjâsp) are noted in the epics of Iranian saga. The hostility was one of culture and religion, between Mazdah and the Daēvas, between agriculturists and nomads. Fryāna is proof that individuals might cross over: his clan is heard of in the Later Avesta in terms agreeing with this stanza. Cf. West in *SBE*, xxxvii. 280. Bartholomae calls Tura "an Iranian tribe outside Vishtaspa's dominion, not yet converted, but not hostile to the new faith"—that is in Gathic times.

that blesseth substance; then shall Good Thought admit them, and Mazdah Ahura give them protection at the Fulfilment.[1]

13. Whoso among mortals has pleased Spitama Zarathushtra by his willingness, a man deserving to have good fame, to him shall Mazdah Ahura give Life, to him shall Good Thought increase substance, him we account to be a familiar friend with your Right.

14. *Mazdah.*—O Zarathushtra, what righteous man is thy friend for the great covenant?[2] Who wills to have good fame?

Zarathushtra.—It is the Kavi[3] Vishtaspa at the Consummation.[4] Those whom thou wilt unite in one house with thee, these will I call with words of Good Thought.

15. Ye Haecataspa Spitamas,[5] of you will I declare that ye can discern[6] the wise and the unwise [. . . a line lost . . .]. Through these actions ye inherit Right according to the primeval laws of Ahura.

16. Frashaoshtra Hvogva,[7] go thou thither with those faithful whom we both[8] desire to be in blessedness, where Right is united with Piety, where the Dominion is in the possession of Good Thought, where Mazdah Ahura dwells to give it increase.[9]

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[1] *συντέλεια*, the Regeneration.

[2] Apparently a term for the "Bund" of the Zarathushtrian community. But see Carnoy, as summarised in the note on *Ys* 29^{11}.

[3] The title has a curious double use, denoting also (see note on *Ys* 32^{14}) chiefs of the Daēvayasna. We must assume that it got its sinister meaning because Vishtaspa stood alone among princes to whom the title belonged.

[4] As Geldner notes, this dialogue is supposed to take place at the Great Day, when Zarathushtra answers for those with whom he has crossed the Bridge (v.^{10}).

[5] *Haēcaṯ-aspa* was the great-grandfather of Zarathushtra, Spitama a more distant ancestor. Their names here describe a clan of the Prophet's more immediate relatives.

[6] Or (as Bartholomae) "proclaim to you that ye may discern." Geldner reads as above. The contents of the lost line may have decided it.

[7] Hvogva is the family name of *Fraša-uštra* and his daughter, whom Zarathushtra married, and of his brother *Jāma-aspa* mentioned in v.^{17}. See Lecture III. *init.*

[8] Geldner, rightly I think, understands this of Mazdah and the Prophet himself, acting as Judge. Justi (*IFAnz.*, xviii. 38) refers it to Frashaoshtra and Jamaspa, which is hard to understand.

[9] So Bartholomae: see my note (p. 171). Geldner has "where the Wise Lord is throned in his majesty," depending on Skt *vardhman*, the meaning of which Justi (*l.c.*) says lies in quite another direction. Justi com-

17. Where, O Jamaspa Hvogva, I will recount your wrongs not your successes,[1] (and) with your obedience the prayers of your loyalty, before him who shall separate the wise and the unwise through his prudent counsellor the Right, even he, Mazdah Ahura.

18. He that holds unto me, to him I myself promise what is best in my possession [2] through the Good Thought, but enmities to him that shall set himself to devise enmity to us, O Mazdah and the Right, desiring to satisfy your will. That is the decision of my understanding and thought.

19. He who accomplisheth for me, even Zarathushtra, in accordance with Right that which best agrees with my will, to him as earning the reward of the Other Life shall be that of two pregnant cows,[3] with all things whereon his mind is set. These things wilt thou bring to pass for me [4] who best knowest how, O Mazdah.

Gatha Spenta-mainyu

Yasna 47

1. By his holy Spirit and by Best Thought, deed, and word, in accordance with Right, Mazdah Ahura with Dominion and Piety shall give us Welfare and Immortality.[5]

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pares *varə·fšva* (*AirWb*, 1371) for the first part and *hadəmōi* (above, v.^{14}) for the second, and retains the traditional rendering, "in the home of desire"—Paradise, where all desires are fulfilled. This does not seem to me philologically unsound. Prof. Jackson (*Zoroaster*, 77) renders "amid abundance."

[1] So Bartholomae, connecting *afša* "damnum" (*Vd* 13^{10}): he compares *Ys* 43^{11}—the wrongs suffered by the *ašavan* at the hands of the *drəgvant* are recounted before Mazdah. Geldner gives "I will recount of you only what is exemplary," apparently connecting *afšman* with *afsman*, "metre," a rather violent procedure, I think. Jackson (*l.c.*) has "ordinances." The Pahlavi renders "metrical," Neriosengh *pramāṇam*.

[2] Geldner, "wish." In either case Paradise is probably intended, unless the cows of v.^{19} are in mind.

[3] For these mundane rewards cf. *Ys* 44^{18}, and Lect. V. *init.*

[4] Geldner, "das scheinst du mir am besten zu wissen," taking *sąs* from √*sand*, videri. Bartholomae prefers √*sand*, efficere.

[5] The stanza is almost a mnemonic, into which with the names of the Amshaspands is woven the triad of Thought, Word, and Deed, as an expansion of "Best Thought." There is much in this hymn to suggest that it was a sort of versified creed for the neophyte, bringing in a maximum of characteristic terms.

2. The best (work) of this most holy Spirit he[1] fulfils with the tongue through the words of Good Thought, with work of his hands through the action of Piety, by virtue of this knowledge; he, even Mazdah, is the Father of Right.

3. Thou art the holy Father of this Spirit,[2] which has created for us the luck-bringing cattle, and for its pasture to give it peace (has created) Piety,[3] when he had taken counsel, O Mazdah, with Good Thought.

4. From this Spirit have the Liars fallen away, O Mazdah, but not so the Righteous. Whether one is lord of little or of much, he is to show love to the righteous, but be ill unto the Liar.

5. And all the best things which by this holy Spirit thou hast promised to the righteous, O Mazdah Ahura, shall the Liar partake of them without thy will, who by his actions is on the side of Ill Thought?[4]

6. Through this holy Spirit, Mazdah Ahura, and through the Fire thou wilt give the division of good to the two parties,[5] with support of Piety and Right. This verily will convert many who are ready to hear.[6]

Yasna 48

1. When at the Recompensings the Right shall smite the Lie, so that what was long since made known shall be assigned in eternity[7] to Daēvas and men, then will it exalt with thy blessings, Ahura, him who prays to thee.

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[1] Zarathushtra, says Bartholomae in *AirWb*, 1377 : in his translation he has "soll man erfüllen."

[2] *hə̄m·tašat* in the next line makes it clear that the "spirit" here is *Gə̄uš tašan.*

[3] See *Ys* 31^9 and note. Aramaiti is here brought in primarily as Genius of the Earth : Vohu Manah was especially patron of cattle.

[4] Or as Geldner, "the Liar partakes . . ." : since this is "against Mazdah's will," it is inferred that the *ašavanō* are to receive as their reward possessions enjoyed by the *drəgvatō.*

[5] The *ašavanō* and the *drəgvatō*, as elsewhere. The *vaŋhāu vīdāiti*, lit. "partition in good," is of course an abbreviated phrase, implying "partition of good and evil severally."

[6] Cf. *Ys* 46^2 and note.

[7] See p. 174. Prof. Söderblom (*La Vie Future*, 239) renders *daibitānā fraoχtā* "ce qu'on dit être le mensonge."

2. Tell me, for thou art he that knows, O Ahura :—shall the Righteous smite the Liar before[1] the retributions come which thou hast conceived? That were indeed a message to bless the world![2]

3. For him that knows,[3] that is the best of teachings which the beneficent Ahura teaches through the Right, he the holy one, even thyself,[4] O Mazdah, that knows[3] the secret lore through the wisdom of Good Thought.

4. Whoso, O Mazdah, makes his thought now better, now worse, and likewise his Self by action and by word, and follows his own inclinations, wishes and choices, he shall in thy purpose be in a separate place at the last.[5]

5. Let good rulers rule us, not evil rulers, with the actions of the Good Lore, O Piety! Perfect thou for man, O thou most good, the future birth,[6] and for the cow skilled husbandry. Let her grow fat for our nourishing!

6. She[7] will give[8] us a peaceful dwelling, she will give lasting

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[1] The stress is on *before*. Zarathushtra is clear about the ultimate victory, but wistfully asks for an earnest of that future.

[2] Bartholomae has "Das wäre gewiss eine der Welt frommende Botschaft." *Âkərəti* occurs only here, and is rendered "efficiency" in the Pahlavi (Mills). I do not know how Bartholomae arrives at his "Kunde, Botschaft" (*AirWb*, 310). "This is [lit. "is known as"] the good Renewal of the world" is an alternative that seems to make appropriate sense; and it comes naturally out of *ā*+√*kar*.

[3] *Vaēdəmnāi*, *vīdvå*: the former (middle) is only used of men, the latter (perf. act.=Gk. Ϝειδώς) of either Mazdah or illuminated men. But it is risky to distinguish.

[4] *θwāvą̄s*, "one like thee": see *Ys* 44^1.

[5] Both Geldner and Bartholomae take this stanza to refer to Hamistakân: see (p. 175).

[6] Bartholomae so takes *aipī·ząθa* (qs. ἐπιγέννησις), meaning much the same as the future life. Geldner, following the tradition (with *aipī ząθəm*, two words), renders "Reinheit gleich nach der Geburt ist für den Menschen das Beste. Für das Vieh soll man tätig sein." The contrast is a good example of the latitude of interpretation still possible.

[7] Aramaiti, especially as genius of the Earth. As in *Ys* 30^7 (*q.v.*) she gives future life: the connexion strongly suggests the germ of a doctrine of bodily resurrection.

[8] So Geldner, which I prefer: *dāṯ* is aorist, and may be indicative (Skt *adāt*) or injunctive (Skt *dāt*), "has given" (as Bartholomae, *Gāθās*) or "will give": in *AirWb*, 1839 B. had "let her give."

life and strength,[1] she the beloved of Good Thought. For it (the cattle) Mazdah Ahura made the plants to grow at the birth of the First Life, through Right.

7. Violence[2] must be put down! against cruelty[2] make a stand, ye who would make sure of the reward of the Good Thought through Right, to whose company the holy man belongs. His dwelling places shall be in thy House, O Ahura.

8. Is the possession of thy good Dominion, Mazdah, is that of thy Destiny[3] assured to me, Ahura? Will thy manifestation,[4] O thou Right, be welcome to the pious, even the weighing[5] of actions by the Good Spirit?

9. When shall I know whether ye have power, O Mazdah and Right, over everyone whose destructiveness is a menace to me? Let the revelation of Good Thought be confirmed unto me: the future deliverer should know how his own destiny shall be.[6]

10. When, O Mazdah, will the nobles understand the Message?[7] When wilt thou smite the filthiness of this intoxicant,[8] through which the Karapans[9] evilly deceive, and the wicked lords of the lands with purpose fell?

11. When, O Mazdah, shall Piety come with Right, with Dominion the happy dwelling rich with pasture? Who are they that will make peace with the bloodthirsty Liars? To whom will the Lore of Good Thought come?

12. These shall be the deliverers of the provinces, who follow

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[1] *utayūitīm təvīšīm*: see p. 114.

[2] *Aēšmō* (’Ασμοδαῖος)—see p. 130. Both this and *rəmō* denote in this context violence and cruelty towards cattle, such as the nomad raiders were constantly showing.

[3] *ašōiš*, the destined reward.

[4] Apparently the *φανέρωσις*, Aša unveiling all secret things (cf. 2 Cor. 5^{10}).

[5] *javarō* has its meaning assigned rather by guesswork. For the weighing, see p. 169 f.

[6] A good passage to show what *saošyant* means for Zarathushtra.

[7] The *narō* (identified with the χ^{v}*aētu* by Bartholomae—see p. 117 f.) are not yet won over: whether this is before or after Vishtaspa's conversion does not appear.

[8] A very marked allusion to Haoma, who, however, is not named. See *Ys* 32^{14} and note.

[9] See *Ys* 32^{12} note.

after pleasing, O Good Thought, by their actions, O Right, depending on thy command, O Mazdah. For these are the appointed smiters of Violence.

Yasna 49

1. Ever has Bendva[1] opposed me, my greatest (foe), because I desire to win through Right[2] men that are neglected, O Mazdah.[3] With the Good Reward[4] come to me, support me, prepare his ruin through[5] Good Thought.

2. The perverter[6] of this Bendva has long time impeded me,[7] the Liar who has fallen away from Right. He cares not that holy Piety should be his, nor takes he counsel with Good Thought, O Mazdah.

3. And in this belief (of ours), O Mazdah, Right is laid down, for blessing, in the heresy the Lie, for ruin. Therefore I strive for the fellowship of Good Thought,[8] I forbid all intercourse with the Liar.

4. They who by evil purpose make increase of violence and cruelty with their tongues, the foes of cattle-nurture among its friends; whose ill deeds prevail, not their good deeds[9]: these

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[1] A *daēvayasna* chieftain. So Bartholomae, for once agreeing with Mills, who thinks the Pahlavi has encouragement. The word means apparently "pestilent" (√*ban*, to make sick); and Geldner takes it as a title of the evil spirit: on the other view it will be a nickname of the chief.

[2] Or (as Geldner and Bartholomae) "O Right, O Mazdah."

[3] Geldner's version is so different that I quote it: "Und mir hat immer der grösste Verpester entgegengewirkt, der ich seine üblen Absichten gutheissen soll, O Asha, O Mazdah."

[4] *Ādā*, which Bartholomae regards as personified here ("als Gottheit," *AirWb*, 321):—is this necessary? Geldner has "Gut ist das Werk."

[5] So Geldner: Bartholomae makes it "O Vohu Manah," which is equally possible.

[6] Bartholomae suggests that this heretic may be the Grehma of whom we hear in *Ys* $32^{12\text{-}14}$.

[7] Geldner, "Und an diesen Verpester gemahnt mich der falschgläubige Prophet."

[8] Bartholomae makes *sarə* inf., "sich anschliessen an," but allows the gen. *vaŋhəuš manaŋhō* to be strange. May it not be a noun? I follow Geldner.

[9] Taking *hvarštāiš* as subject (Jackson, *JAOS*, xv. lxii.), and following Bartholomae. But can *dužvarštā* follow as another subject? Better perhaps "whose good deeds do not outweigh their ill deeds."

(shall be) in the House of the Daēvas, (the place for) the Self of the Liar.[1]

5. But he, O Mazdah—happiness and satiety[2] be his who links his own Self with Good Thought, being through Right an intimate of Piety. And with all these (may I be) in thy Dominion, Ahura.

6. I beseech you twain, O Mazdah and the Right, to say what is after the thought of your will, that we may rightly discern how we might teach the Religion that comes from you,[3] O Ahura.

7. And this let Good Thought hear, O Mazdah, let the Right hear, do thou thyself listen, O Ahura, what man of the brotherhood,[4] what noble[5] it is according to the law who brings to the community good fame.

8. On Frashaoshtra do thou bestow the most gladsome fellowship with the Right—this I ask of thee, O Mazdah Ahura—and on myself the hold on what is good in thy Dominion. To all eternity we would be (thy) beloved.[6]

9. Let the helper hear the ordinances, he that is created to bring deliverance.[7] The man of right words is no regarder of fellowship with the Liar, if they that are partakers of Right

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[1] A difficult line. Geldner renders "die machen das Gewissen des Falschgläubigen zu (leibhaftigen) Devs." This is near the version of Tiele (*Religionsg.*, ii. 96), "Sie schaffen Daevas durch die Lehre des Lügner." That is, Bartholomae makes *da̯n* locative of *dam*, "house," Geldner makes it 3 pl. aor. of √*dā*.

[2] Geldner, "he is milk and oil for such." *Āzūiti* means solid food, or fat, in some places. See *Ys* 29^7.

[3] *χšmāvatō*, "of one like you (Ahuras)," as elsewhere.

[4] *airyamā*: see note on *Ys* 32^1.

[5] χ^v*aētuš*: see the same note. Geldner has "welcher Gönner, welcher Verwandter (*i.e.* Frashaoshtra und . . . Jāmāspa . . .) nach den Gesetzen lebt, dass er dem Anhang (den Religionsgenossen) ein gutes Vorbild gebe." Bartholomae notes as the meaning that if priests and nobles set a good example, the peasants will also attach themselves to the faith.

[6] Bartholomae, "messengers." The word is ἁ.λ., and the meaning is not as good as Geldner's "deine Trauten"; cf. Vedic *preṣṭha*, from √*prī*, to love. The Pahlavi seems to have attached *fraēštå̊nhō* to ^{1}*fraēšta* (= πλεῖστος), "men in authority."

[7] This is Jāmāspa, here called a *saošyant*, for *suyē* is the infin. of the verb of which that is fut. partic.

are to make their Selves partake in the best reward at the Judgement, O Jamaspa.

10. And this, O Mazdah, will I put in thy care within thy House[1]—the Good Thought[2] and the souls of the Righteous, their worship, their Piety and zeal,[3] that thou mayst guard it, O thou of mighty Dominion, with abiding power.[4]

11. But these that are of an evil dominion, of evil deeds, evil words, evil Self, and evil thought, Liars, the Souls[5] go to meet them with foul food: in the House of the Lie they shall be meet inhabitants.

12. What help hast thou, O Right, for Zarathushtra that calls upon thee? what hast thou, Good Thought?—for me who with praises seek your favour, O Mazdah Ahura, longing for that which is the best in your possession.

Yasna 50

1. *Zarathushtra.*—Can my soul count on anyone for help? Who is there found for my herd,[6] who for myself a protector indeed, at my call other than Right and thyself, O Mazdah Ahura, and the Best Thought?

2. How, O Mazdah, should one desire the luck-bringing cattle,[7] one who would fain it should come to him together with the pasture?

Mazdah.—They that live uprightly according to the Right among the many that look upon the sun, these when they stand in the judgement[1] I will settle in the dwellings of the wise.

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[1] The "treasury" (*ganj*), as it was afterwards called; see p. 162.

[2] *manō vohu*, with order changed. No doubt it means that of the *ašavanō*, whose *aramaiti* is also thus committed to Mazdah's care. This coincident use of the names of two Amshaspands illustrates the thinness of their personification.

[3] *īzā*: Geldner, "die süsse Milch," the food of the blessed, as (according to G.) in *Ys* 51^1.

[4] Bartholomae divides the *vox nihili* into *avə̄m īrā*.

[5] Of those "Liars" who have died earlier and preceded them to the hell of which the "foul food" is characteristic.

[6] *pasə̄uš* (pecus).

[7] See *Ys* 44^6, 47^3. Bartholomae and Geldner take it as a reward in the future life: the former notes that one who makes cattle and pasture the source of good here cannot conceive of Paradise without it.

3. *Zarathushtra.*—So this (reward) shall come to him through the Right,[2] O Mazdah, (the reward) which by the Dominion and Good Thought he[3] promised, whosoever by the power of his Destiny prospers the neighbouring possession that now the Liar[4] holds.

4. I will worship you with praise, O Mazdah Ahura, joined with Right and Best Thought and Dominion, that they, desired of pious men, may stand as Judges[5] on the path of the obedient unto the House of Song.

5. Assured by you, O Mazdah Ahura and Right,[6] are the pointings of the hand[7]—since you are well disposed to your prophet—which shall bring us to bliss, together with visible manifest help.

6. The prophet Zarathushtra, who as thy friend, O Mazdah and the Right,[8] lifts up his voice with worship—may the Creator of Wisdom teach me his ordinances through Good Thought, that my tongue may have a pathway.[9]

7. For you I will harness the swiftest steeds, stout and strong, by the prompting of your praise, that ye may come hither, O Mazdah, Right and Good Thought. May ye be ready for my help!

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[1] *ākāstəng.* *Ākā* as an adj. means *manifest*, as a noun τὸ φανερωθῆναι in the sense of 2 Cor. 5^{10}. Geldner renders, "O du Ankunderin, wenn du diese scheidest, so nimm mich als Gerechten an."

[2] Or "O Right" (*ašā*, voc. or instr.).

[3] Bartholomae interprets this as Mazdah, supposing the stanza (despite the clear vocative *Mazdā*) addressed to Vishtaspa. Could we take *χšaθrā* and *vohūcā manaŋhā* as instr. for the subject, and render "which Dominion and Good Thought have promised"?

[4] Bartholomae thinks there is a definite reference to Bendva or Grehma.

[5] *ākā̊*—see note on v.^{2}. "Revealers" would be more exact.

[6] *Mazdā Ašā Ahurā.* The order of the words makes Bartholomae's earlier view tempting, by which *Ahurā* is dual, "ye two Lords." But now both he and Geldner take it as above.

[7] See note on *Ys* 34^4.

[8] So Bartholomae in his Lexicon: his translation is "der Freund des Aša," which would seem to make *ašā* instr., "befriended by Asha."

[9] May not stray from the right path. Zarathushtra himself is speaking, though he uses the third person in the relative clause.

8. With verses that are recognised as those of pious zeal I will come before you with outstretched hands, O Mazdah, before you, O thou Right, with the worship of the faithful man, before you with all the capacity of Good Thought.

9. With these prayers I would come and praise you, O Mazdah and thou Right, with actions of Good Thought. If I be master of my own destiny as I will, then will I take thought for the portion of the wise in the same.

10. Those actions that I shall achieve, and those done aforetime, and those, O Good Thought, that are precious in the sight, the rays of the sun, the bright uprisings of the days,[1] all is for your praise, O thou Right and Mazdah Ahura.

11. Your praiser, Mazdah, will I declare myself[2] and be, so long, O Right, as I have strength and power. May the Creator of the world accomplish through Good Thought its[3] fulfilment of all that most perfectly answers to his will!

GATHA VOHUχŠAθRĀ

Yasna 51

1. The good, the precious Dominion, as a most surpassing portion, shall Right achieve for him that with zeal accomplishes what is best through his actions, O Mazdah. This will I now work out for us.

2. Before all, O Mazdah Ahura, give me the Dominion of your possession, O Right, and what is thine, O Piety. Your (Dominion) of blessing give through Good Thought to him that prays.

3. Let your ears attend[4] to those who in their deeds and utterances hold to your words, Ahura and Right, to those of Good Thought, for whom thou, Mazdah, art the first teacher.

4. Where is the recompense for wrong to be found, where pardon for the same? Where shall they attain the Right?

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[1] See note on *Ys* 46^3.

[2] *aojāi*, used rather like its cognate εὔχομαι (εἶναι), in Homer.

[3] *aŋhə̄us* depends on *dātā* and *haiθyāvarəštam*, ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, according to Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 1761).

[4] Bartholomae, "Eure Ohren sollen sich mit denen in Verbindung setzen die . . ." Geldner, "Eure Ohren sollen erfahren, welche . . ."

Where is holy Piety, where Best Thought? Thy Dominions, where are they,[1] O Mazdah?

5. All this (I) ask, whether the husbandman shall find cattle[2] in accordance with Right, he that is perfect in actions, a man of understanding, when he prays to him who hath promised unto the upright the true judge,[3] in that he is lord of the two Destinies[4]—

6. even he, Ahura Mazdah, who through his Dominion appoints what is better than good to him that is attentive to his will, but what is worse than evil to him that obeys him not, at the last end of life.

7. Give me, O thou that didst create the Ox and Waters and Plants, Welfare and Immortality,[5] by the Holiest Spirit, O Mazdah, strength and continuance through Good Thought at the (Judge's) sentence.

8. Of those two things will I speak, O Mazdah—for one may say a word to the wise,—the ill that is threatened to the Liar, and the happiness that clings to the Right. For he the Prophet is glad for him who says this to the wise.

9. What recompense thou wilt give to the two parties by[6] thy red Fire, by the molten Metal, give us a sign of it in our souls—even the bringing of ruin to the Liar, of blessing to the Righteous.

10. Whoso, other than this one,[7] seeks to kill me, Mazdah, he is a son[8] of the Lie's creation, ill-willed thus towards

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[1] Bartholomae observes that this last question is the answer to those that precede. The plural *χšaθrā* is unusual: cf. *Ys* 34^{11}.

[2] I have rendered *gāuš* "cattle" because the gender is indeterminate, except in *gə̄uš tašan*, etc., where "Ox-creator" is more convenient. Both Geldner and Bartholomae think the eschatological *Lohnkuh* is meant here—see note on *Ys* 50^{2}. I do not feel quite sure that the homely cow of this world may not be meant, and so leave the matter open.

[3] *Ratūm*: Zarathushtra means himself—see note on *Ys* 44^{16}.

[4] Heaven and hell. Of course Mazdah is the apportioner (*χšayąs*, "potens") of the *aši*.

[5] Note the combination with Water and Plants, their province.

[6] See *Ys* 31^{3} and note. On the *ayah χšusta* see p. 157 f.

[7] Bartholomae suggests that the reference would be made clear by a gesture. If so, it is hardly likely that the evil spirit is intended, as he thinks: rather a human heretic (Geldner), perhaps Grehma.

[8] *hunuš* (Skt *sūnu*, Gothic *sunus*), curiously specialised in Avestan to denote only "sons" of demoniacal beings. See on this phenomenon p. 218 f.

all that live.[1] I call the Right to come to me with good destiny.[2]

11. What man is a friend to Spitama Zarathushtra, O Mazdah? Who will let himself be counselled by Right? With whom[3] is holy Piety? Or who as an upright man is intent on the covenant[4] of Good Thought?

12. The Kavi's wanton[5] did not please Zarathushtra Spitama at the Winter Gate, in that he stayed him from taking refuge with him, and when there came to him also (Zarathushtra's) two steeds shivering with cold.

13. Thus the Self of the Liar destroys for himself the assurance of the right Way; whose soul shall tremble at the Revelation[6] on the Bridge of the Separater, having turned aside with deeds and tongue from the path of Right.

14. The Karapans[7] will not obey the statutes and ordinances concerning husbandry. For the pain they inflict on the cattle, fulfil upon them through their actions and judgements that judgement which at the last shall bring them to the House of the Lie.

15. What meed Zarathushtra hath promised to the men of his covenant,[8] (which) in the House of Song Ahura Mazdah hath first attained, for all this I have looked through your blessings, Good Thought, and those of Right.

16. Kavi Vishtaspa hath accepted that creed which the holy Mazdah Ahura with Right hath devised, together with the dominion of the Covenant,[4] and the path of Good Thought. So be it accomplished after our desire.

It only occurs once in the Gathas, which is insufficient evidence for the establishment of the usage so early. Probably the Magi based their appropriation on the accident of the use here.

[1] *duž·dā̊ yōi hənti*, the antithesis of *hudā̊ yōi hənti* in *Ys* 45^{6}.

[2] *Aša* to come with *aši vanuhī*. See p. 360.

[3] *Kā* instr. (Bartholomae). Geldner makes it nom. sg. fem., "Was gilt die heilige Ârmaiti?"

[4] *Magāi*, a doubtful word. Bartholomae "Bund," Geldner "Gnadengabe." See note on *Ys* 29^{11}.

[5] *vaēpayō* = παιδικά: Geldner makes it a proper name. Bartholomae lays just emphasis on the convincing reality of this personal reminiscence: see above, p. 83.

[6] *ākā̊*: see notes on *Ys* 48^{8}, $50^{2\cdot 4}$.

[7] See p. 140.

[8] *magavabyō*: see note on *magāi* in v.^{11} and in *Ys* 29^{11}.

17. The fair form of one that is dear hath Frashaoshtra Hvogva promised unto me:[1] may sovran Mazdah Ahura grant that she attain possession of the Right for her good Self.

18. This creed Jamaspa Hvogva[2] chooses through Right, lordly in substance.[3] This Dominion they (choose) who have part in Good Thought. This grant me, Ahura, that they may find in thee, Mazdah, their protection.

19. This man,[4] O Maidyoimaongha Spitama,[5] hath set this before him after conceiving it in his own Self. He that would see Life indeed, to him will he make known what in actions by Mazdah's ordinance is better during (this) existence.

20. Your blessings shall ye give us, all ye that are one in will, with whom Right, Good Thought, Piety, and Mazdah (are one), according to promise, giving your aid when worshipped with reverence.

21. By Piety the beneficent man benefits[6] the Right through his thinking, his words, his action, his Self. By Good Thought Mazdah Ahura will give the Dominion. For this good Destiny[7] I long.

22. He, I ween, that Mazdah Ahura knoweth, among all that have been and are, as one to whom in accordance with

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[1] Hvôvî, the daughter of Frashaoshtra: see p. 82. The possibilities of these Gathic problems are well illustrated here by Geldner's version, "Einen begehrenswerten Leib hat mir F. H. für seine güte Seele ausgemalt." He notes "D. h. er hat ihm geschildert, welchen schönen Leib er im Paradies für seine gläubige Seele erbittet: vgl. *Ys* 36^6," where prayer is offered for the "fairest of all bodies," to be the worshipper's portion. The reference to the Prophet's new bride seems *a priori* probable in a stanza referring to his father-in-law, and Bartholomae's rendering seems to me preferable. A passage from the Gatha Haptanghaiti is not the best of parallels for the elucidation of the older Gathas.

[2] Frashaoshtra's brother, and Zarathushtra's son-in-law—see *Ys* 53.

[3] Geldner joins *ištōiš χšaθrəm*, "das Reich des Wünsches," the looked-for Kingdom of God.

[4] M. himself (Bartholomae).

[5] *Maidyōi·mā̊ŋha*, a cousin of the Prophet, and his earliest convert, according to tradition. See p. 82.

[6] *Spəntō—spə̄nvaṯ*. Bartholomae, who will not allow "beneficent" as the meaning of *spənta*—on which see p. 145—regards this as a paronomasia. He renders "By Piety one becomes holy. Such a man advances Right by . . . ," etc. So now Brugmann, *Grundriss*^{2}, II. iii. 329.

[7] *vaŋhvīm ašim*: see note on v.^{10}.

Right the best portion falls for his prayer, these will I reverence[1] by their names and go before them with honour.

GATHA VAHIŠTŌ·IŠTI

Yasna 53

1. *Zarathushtra.*—The best possession known is that of Zarathushtra Spitama, which is that Mazdah Ahura will give him through the Right the glories of blessed life unto all time, and likewise to them that practise and learn the words and actions of his Good Religion.

2. Then let them seek the pleasure of Mazdah with thought, words, and actions, unto his praise gladly, and seek his worship, even the Kavi Vishtaspa, and Zarathushtra's son[2] the Spitamid, and Frashaoshtra, making straight the paths for the Religion of the future Deliverer which Ahura ordained.

3. Him, O Pourucista,[3] thou scion of Haēcataspa and Spitama, youngest of Zarathushtra's daughters, hath (Zarathushtra) appointed as one to enjoin on thee a fellowship with Good Thought, Right, and Mazdah. So take counsel with thine own understanding: with good insight practise the holiest works of Piety.

4. *Jamaspa.*—Earnestly will I lead her to the Faith,[4] that she may serve her father and her husband, the farmers and the nobles,[5] as a righteous woman (serving) the righteous. The glorious heritage of Good Thought [. . . three syllables corrup . . .] shall Mazdah Ahura give to her good Self for all time.

5. *Zarathushtra.*—Teachings address I to maidens marry-

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[1] *yazāi*—here only in the Gathas applied to men. As suggested in *ERPP*, 118, it seems a little suspicious: later worship, as in *Yt* 13 *passim*, used it freely of the *fravashi* of a living man. On the *yēṇhē hātąm* (*Ys* 27^{15}) as adapted from this stanza, see *ERPP*, 117.

[2] *Išat̰·vāstra* by name (see p. 82): it does not happen to occur in the Gathas, which only refer to him here.

[3] On *Pourucistā* and *Haēcat̰aspa* (fourth progenitor of Zarathushtra, in the fifth generation from Spitama) see pp. 82, 375.

[4] *nīvarānī*: so Bartholomae divides, with two good MSS. Geldner's standard text reads *spərədānī varānī*.

[5] χ^{v}*aētavē*, "the clan." On the castes see p. 117.

ing, and to you (bridegrooms), giving counsel. Lay them to heart, and learn to get them within your own Selves in earnest attention to the Life of Good Thought. Let each of you strive to excel the other in the Right, for it will be a prize for that one.

6. So is it in fact, ye men and women! Whatever happiness ye look for in union with the Lie [? shall be taken away from your person [1]]. To them, the Liars, shall be ill food, crying Woe!—bliss shall flee from them that despise righteousness. In such wise do ye destroy for yourselves the spiritual Life.

7. And there shall be for you the reward of this Covenant,[2] if only most faithful zeal be with the wedded pair,[3] that the spirit of the Liar, shrinking and cowering, may fall into perdition in the abyss.[4] Separate ye from the Covenant,[2] so shall your word at the last be Woe!

8. So they whose deeds are evil, let them be the deceived, and let them all howl, abandoned to ruin. Through good rulers let him bring death and bloodshed upon them, and peace from their assaults [5] unto the happy villagers.[6] Grief let him bring on those, he that is Greatest, with the bond of death; and soon let it be!

9. To men of evil creed belongs the place of corruption.[7] They that set themselves to contemn the worthy, despising

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[1] Bartholomae's conjectural translation [*AirWb*, 1289, "das wird von seiner Person weggenommen"]: he assumes (*ib.*, 1808) that *Drūjō* has been repeated from the previous line, and the unintelligible *hōiš piθā* interpolated in some way that cannot be explained. The ejection of these three words restores the metre. (Bartholomae's "seiner" refers back to "dem Anhänger der Druj," which he understands from *Drūjō.*)

[2] See note on *Ys* 29^{11}.

[3] Bartholomae takes *būnōi haχtayå* as a proverbial phrase, "if most faithful zeal be in your very marrow." His account of *haχt*, irregularly answering to Skt *sakthi*, "leg," seems rather violent, and *būnōi* has to mean "at bottom," with *haχtayå* (gen.) like our phrase "bred in the bone." I follow Geldner here with some hesitation, but take *yaθrā* as introducing a purpose clause (cf. *Ys* 31^{11}).

[4] *būnōi*: can we change the order of this and *haχtayå*?

[5] *āiš*, lit. "peace with them."

[6] *vīžibyō*: *vīs* is the complex of "houses" (*nmāna*), with *zantu*, "county," and finally *dańyu*, "province," above it.

[7] *vaēšō*, the same word as the Latin *vīrus.*

righteousness, forfeiting their own body[1]—where is the Righteous Lord[2] who shall rob them of life and freedom? Thine, Mazdah, is the Dominion, whereby thou canst give to the right-living poor man the better portion.

The Three Prayers

1. *Ahuna Vairya* (*Ys* 27^{13}): see p. 160 f.

2. *Ašəm vohū* (*Ys* 27^{14}):

Right is the best good: it falls by desire, it falls by desire to us, even our Right to the best right.[3]

3. *Ā airyəmā išyō* (*Ys* 54^{1}):

Let the dear Brotherhood[4] come for support of Zarathushtra's men and women, for support of Good Thought. Whatever Self may win the precious meed of Right, for this one I beg the dear Destiny that Ahura Mazdah bestowed.[5]

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[1] *pəšō·tanvō*, here only in Gathas. In the Later Avesta it recurs frequently, to denote sinners for whom there is no atonement. Bartholomae collects the following passages of the Vendidad to show which sins are in this category:—4^{20} f., ^{24} f., ^{28} f., ^{32} f., ^{35} f., ^{38} f., ^{41} f.; 5^{43}; 6^{4}, ^{8}, ^{18}, ^{47}; 7^{71}; 13^{24}, ^{37}; 15^{1}, ^{2}, ^{4}, ^{6}, ^{7}, ^{8}; 16^{13}, Niring. 44.

[2] *ahurō*, here apparently of the human king who executes judgement on earth as Mazdah will at the Last Day.

[3] See *ERPP*, 116. It is apparently a play on two derived meanings of *aša*, right-doing, and a man's rights. "He who lives rightly gets his rights in the end."

[4] I have ventured tentatively to give *airyəmā* the meaning it seems to have in the Gathas: see p. 117. In this Prayer Bartholomae makes it an *Ahura* ("Gottheit"), with Vedic parallels. But may not the Prophet be simply urging "believers" to do their duty, with promise of a heavenly reward?

[5] *masatā*. Bartholomae (*Flexionslehre*, 27) assumed a root *mas*, "schenken' (not in *AirWb*). Could we read *mastā* (with two or three MSS.), as an aorist of *man*, "thought of"? *Aši* is thus the creature of Mazdah's Thought.

PASSAGES FROM GREEK AUTHORS

Herodotus, i. 131–140

131. Now the Persians I know to have the following customs. They count it unlawful to set up images and shrines and altars,[1] and actually charge them that do so with folly, because as I suppose they have not conceived the gods to be of like nature with men, as the Greeks conceive them. But their custom is to ascend to the highest peaks of the mountains,[2] and offer sacrifices to Zeus, calling the whole vault of the sky Zeus;[3]

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[1] Here, as in some other noteworthy points, there is a suggestive resemblance to the conditions of early Roman worship: cf. Dr Warde Fowler's *Gifford Lectures*, p. 145 f. In *Bh* 1^{14}, Darius says he "restored the sanctuaries which Gaumata the Magian destroyed." His word is *āyadanā* (cf. Av. *yaz*, "to worship"), which in the Babylonian version is the equivalent of the Hebrew *Bethel*, "houses of the gods." These (if really Persian—see p. 195 f.) were perhaps mere shelters for the sacred fire, with no recognisable altar. Parsism was always as free from images as Mosaism itself. For the reason given, compare the statement of Porphyry (*Vit. Pyth.*, 41): Ὠρομάζου ἐοικέναι τὸ μὲν σῶμα φωτί, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ἀληθείᾳ. For the absence of shrines compare Cicero, *De Legibus*, II. x. 26, "nec sequor magos Persarum, quibus auctoribus Xerxes inflammasse templa Græciæ dicitur, quod parietibus includerent deos, quibus omnia deberent esse patentia ac libera, quorumque hic mundus omnis templum est et domus." The *āyadanā* may very well have been open so as to conform to this rule. (I owe the reference to Mr Hicks.) See further p. 67 f.

[2] Cf. below, on Plutarch, p. 403; also p. 213 f.

[3] Prof. Sayce would identify this "vault of heaven" (ὁ πᾶς κύκλος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ) with an obscure *yazata* called in *Yt* 10^{66} *Θwāša χ^{v}adāta*: Darmesteter renders "sovran sky," while Bartholomae makes him the atmosphere. He is not nearly conspicuous enough for such a place. We have rather to recognise the great Aryan and South Indo-European sky-god *Dyēus* (Vedic

and they sacrifice also to Sun, Moon, Earth, Fire, Water,

Dyauḥ, Ζεύς, *Diespiter*, with its vocative *Iuppiter*). His name in Old Persian —nom. **Diyauš*, acc. *Diyām*, loc. *Divi* or *Diyavi*—would inevitably suggest its Greek cognate and synonym to the ear of a Greek traveller. I was confirmed in my reading of the evidence by finding it anticipated by Spiegel (*Eran. Altertumskunde*, ii. 15). There is now a full discussion of the point in Bartholomae, *Zum AirWb*, 172–4, starting from a note in Hesychius, Δῖαν·μεγάλην ἢ ἔνδοξον·τὸν οὐρανὸν Πέρσαι. Clearly, if the old lexicographer was thinking of Herodotus he had some reason for dissociating Δία there (and Διί) from Ζεύς, for he selects the accusative of the fem. adj. δῖα, common in Homer. Now *Διᾶν would represent the acc. of O.P. **Diyauš* almost exactly. May we not conjecture that Hesychius had evidence prompting him to desert the obvious Ζεύς in Herodotus, even though Διί just before would not fit δῖα? We have strong reason for expecting to find *Dyauš* in Persia, since he belongs to the Vedic pantheon, though his cult is evidently dying. Bartholomae cites Διαῖξις, the name of a Persian noble in Æschylus, *Persæ*, 977. It is either **divai·χšiš*, "ruling in the sky," or **divai·šiš*, "dwelling in the sky." (I think *divai* and *dyavi* may be alternative forms of the locative, related like χθονί and χαμαί, with Skt *divi* = Διϝί as a mixture.) Bartholomae suggests that the Thracian sage Ζάμολξις had a Scythian (and so Iranian) name, *zamar·χšiš*, "qui regnat in terra." (Since the cognate Thracian had the required λ in the name for Earth, witnessed by Σεμέλη, we need not perhaps make Zamolxis a foreigner in Thrace.) But what were those Persian aristocrats thinking of when they named their infant, on either etymology? Can we explain *qui regnat in cœlo* by the doctrine of the Fravashi? If the heavenly counterpart had royal rank, the rank of the earthly double should correspond, and match the parents' ambition.

The case for the presence of *Dyauš* in Iran is strengthened by its recognition in *Yt* 3^{13}, a verse passage, thus rendered in *ERPP*, 124 :—

Headlong down *from heaven* fell he,
He of demons the most lying,
Angra Mainyu many-slaying.

This rendering of *patat̰ dyaoš* is found in Darmesteter and Bartholomae. Geldner, rather doubtfully followed by Söderblom, makes it mean "started from hell," assuming that *dyauš* shared the degeneration which befell its cognate *daēva*. I do not feel this at all probable, though its acceptance would not affect our present point, the survival in Iran of the old word for Sky. A conflict in the upper air between the powers of light and darkness is a thoroughly Iranian notion. It may even have contributed to popular beliefs outside Iran, for when Paul uses it (Eph. 6^{12}) as an idea familiar to the people of the Lycus valley, it will probably be as a native folklore which he could apply, without doing harm, when the infinite transcendence of Christ was held fast. There is a further parallel in Rev. 12^{9}, supposed to and Winds.[1] To these alone they have sacrificed from the beginning; but they have learned in addition, from the Assyrians and the Arabians, to sacrifice to Urania.[2] (The Assyrians

be adapted from Jewish apocalyptic. Both passages may be fairly added to the tale of possible Iranian contacts with Judaism (Lecture IX.).

Before leaving the subject, I should remark on the limitation implicit in my calling *Dyēus pətēr* the "South Indo-European Sky-Father." In *ERPP* 33 I repeated the common equation which adds our own Germanic Tiu (*Tues*day) to the Aryan, Greek, and Italian series. Bremer's argument for attaching the Germanic words to *deivos* rather than *dyēus* did not convince Prof. Otto Schrader (*ERE*, ii. 33 n.); and the High German *Zio* is declared by the paramount authority of Prof. Brugmann (*Grundriss*², i. 133 f.) to suit either origin. But Prof. H. M. Chadwick tells me that the Old English form cannot be traced to anything but *deivos*; and though Schrader's opinion is naturally of great weight, it must in a matter affecting Germanic yield to that of the specialist in this field. A Germanic scholar who attended my lectures urged that if *Dyēus* were found in our speech-area it would be isolated in the western part of the Indo-European country: though *deivos* and *dyēus* are only *Ablaut*-doublets, differentiation of meaning set in during the earliest period. But on the theory sketched above (p. 5 n., 26 n.), a contact between Germanic and Aryan falls into place.

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[1] All these are palpably *urarisch*. Prof. Sayce declares that "sacrifices were not offered to" four of them. He is, however, a relatively late authority; and in all his objections there is an unwarrantable assumption that Herodotus is wrong wherever we cannot support him from the Avesta. If the Persian popular religion was, as I have tried to prove, still untouched by Zoroaster, the assumption falls. (It must in fairness be remembered that Prof. Sayce's *Herodotus* was published in 1883.) We turn to the details. The *Sun* and the *Moon* have each a Yasht in their honour, but so late and so unimportant that we lay more stress on other evidence. India, of course, abundantly illustrates the prominence of the great lights in Aryan religion, and the Avesta from beginning to end has sufficient parallels. *Earth* had the genius *Aramati* in Aryan times (see p. 112), and the connexion survived in the Gathas and after. Apart from this name, we have the worship of Earth and *Waters*, "the wives of Ahura Mazdah," in *Ys* 38, a hymn of the Haptanghaiti, which we have seen to be an almost pure source of Iranian Nature-worship, practically untouched by the Reform. In the same Gatha we find adoration of *Fire*, which was supremely sacred in Zarathushtra's own doctrine: thus in *Ys* 36³ Fire is Ahura's "most holy spirit." In *Ys* 42³ "the mighty Mazdah-made *Wind*" receives worship. So there is adequate Avestan testimony after all, from the older stratum.

[2] The Persians adopted the Semitic cult of Ishtar, who in some form unmistakably stands behind the great Iranian goddess Anāhita. For convergent evidence supporting this most important statement see p. 238 f.

call Aphrodite Mylitta,[1] the Arabians Alitta,[2] the Persians Mitra.[3])

132. Now the manner of the Persians' sacrifice to the gods afore-named is this. They neither make them altars nor kindle a fire when about to sacrifice:[4] they use no libation, no flute, no garlands, no meal.[5] But as one desires to sacrifice to each of these deities, he takes the victim to a pure place and calls upon the god,[6] his headdress adorned with a garland, generally of myrtle. It is not permitted him to ask for good things for his own private use who sacrifices; but he makes petition for good to befall the whole Persian people and the King, for he also is counted with the whole Persian people. Then when he has cut up the victim and seethed the flesh, he spreads out a carpet of the tenderest herbage,[7] especially clover, and sets all

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[1] *Mu'allidtu* (Zimmern) was "probably a functional appellative of Ishtar, meaning 'the helper of childbirth'" (Farnell, *Greece and Babylon*, p. 270). That Ishtar was "queen of heaven" (*e.g.* in Jerem. 7^{18}) makes the title Οὐρανίη natural here. For Mylitta see Herod. i. 199.

[2] Generally emended Ἀλιλάτ, as in iii. 8, where she and Ὀροτάλ, whom Herodotus identifies with Dionysus, are said to be the sole divinities of the Arabs. Hommel (*Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients*, p. 200) says that Herodotus wrote Μύλιττα for the Elamite ANAITTA, that Ἄλιττα represents *annāhid*, "die Vollbüsige."

[3] On this helpful mistake see p. 238. The close association of Mithra and Anāhita, reflected in the inscriptions of the later Achæmenians, is itself evidence of the thorough Semitising of the Mithra cult in Persia. But the spirit of Iran showed itself in the superior conspicuousness of the male deity: contrast the feeble male counterparts of Ishtar in Semitic fields (Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*^{2}, 105 ff.).

[4] The essence of the sacrifice was the setting out of food before the deity for him to partake of its spiritual essence (ψυχή in Strabo, 732): cf. the Hebrew "shewbread." The sacred fire was the messenger inviting to come to the sacrifice.

[5] The omission of the (Haoma) libation here raises difficulty: see the discussion above, p. 71 f.

[6] We may compare the prominence in the Later Avesta of the "sacrifice in which the name is invoked" (*aoχtō·nāman yasna*, *Yt* 10^{31} *al*): see p. 203.

[7] The *barhiṣ*, "sacrificial grass," of Vedic ritual. The corresponding Avestan *barəziš* has been generalised to "cushion," the special meaning having been displaced by the Reform. As described above (p. 190), the derivative *barəsman*, the bundle of twigs still used in Parsi worship, retains a trace of the older meaning in the verb *star*, "spread."

the flesh thereon.[1] And when he has thus disposed it, a Magian man stands by and chants a theogony thereto, for such the Persians say the chant is.[2] Without a Magian it is not lawful for him to offer sacrifices.[3] And after waiting a little time the sacrificer takes away the flesh and uses it as he will.

133. The day of all others that they are wont to honour most is a man's birthday. Thereon they deem it right to set out a greater feast than on other days. The prosperous among them serve up an ox, a horse, a camel, or an ass,[4] roasted whole in ovens, while the poor serve up the smaller quadrupeds. And they do not eat much staple food, but they have a great many dessert dishes, which are not all set on at once. For this cause Persians say that the Greeks at their meals always leave off hungry, because nothing worth mention is brought on after dinner—if anything were brought on, they would never leave off eating. Now they are greatly given to wine;[5] and it is not allowed them to vomit nor to make water in another's presence. These rules are thus well kept; and it is when drunken that they are wont to discuss their most serious business. But whatsoever has pleased them when thus discussing, this the master of the house in which they have been for the discussion, puts before them the next day when sober. And if it please them sober, they abide by it; but if not, they put it away. But what

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[1] Compare Prof. Söderblom's notes (*La Vie Future*, 266) on the animal sacrifices to be offered by Saoshyant and his auxiliaries at the end of the world. Since animal sacrifices were abolished by Zarathushtra, this attests the antiquity of the material incorporated in the Bundahish account of Saoshyant. Note that in thus abolishing sacrifice the Prophet only went a step beyond Iranian custom as described by Herodotus, in which the gods only partook of the spiritual essence of meat that would be eaten by their worshippers.

[2] The θεογονίη answers well to a Yasht, or a normal Vedic hymn, telling of the exploits and history of a God, like a Homeric Hymn. See the parallel in Pausanias (v. 27^3), cited in full in a footnote at p. 208 above.

[3] Herodotus writes three generations after the Magian revolt under Gaumāta. The Magians doubtless had long re-established themselves in their sacred offices, if indeed they had ever lost them among the common people of Media. See p. 194 f.

[4] The animals, as Blakesley notes, are a relic of prehistoric nomadism.

[5] Compare the curious notice in Ctesias (above, p. 72), and what is said about Haoma, p. 71 f. The modern Persians have kept up the vice.

things they discuss first when sober, they examine over again when drunk.

134. When they meet one another in the streets, by this may one discern whether they that meet are equals. Instead of speaking to one another they kiss on the mouth. If the one be a little the other's inferior, they kiss on the cheek. But if the one be of much humbler birth, he falls down before the other and does obeisance. They honour most after themselves those who live nearest to them, and in the next place those next to these; and they assign honour in proportion as they go on thus, holding those least in honour who live farthest away from them; for they account themselves to be by far the best of all men at everything, while others attain excellence in the proportion here described, and they that live farthest away are the worst. In the time of the Median rule the several races had the following precedence over one another. The Medes were over all alike, and over those living nearest to them: these again were over their neighbours, and they too over those next to them. According to the same principle also the Persians apportion honour; for each nation took its place in order as ruler and administrator.[1]

135. The Persians adopt foreign customs most readily of all men. Accounting the Median dress more comely than their own, they wear this, and Egyptian breastplates in war.[2] When they hear of luxuries from any quarter they indulge therein. Thus they have even learned unnatural vice from the Greeks.[3] They each marry a number of lawful wives, and get them many more concubines still. 136. It is approved as a token of manliness, next after being a good fighter, that a man should have many sons to show; and to him that can show the most, the king every year sends gifts. In numbers, they think, lies

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[1] See the note in How and Wells. (I am only annotating points that affect the subject of this book.)

[2] An Egyptian borrowing in the sphere of religion was the winged solar disk which supplied the image of Ahura on the Achæmenian monuments (p. 243).

[3] The Vendidad denunciation of this as mortal sin ($8^{26, 27}$) does not, as Messrs How and Wells imply, prove the vice earlier than Persian contact with the Greeks, though it may well be so: cf. *Ys* 51^{12} (p. 386).

strength. They teach the boys, from five years old to twenty, three things only—to ride, to shoot, and to be truthful.[1] But till the child is five years old he does not come into the father's sight, but lives wholly with the women. This is done that if he should die while under their care it may not cause distress to the father. 137. I commend this custom, as also the following, that neither does the king himself put a man to death on a single charge, nor does any other Persian on a single charge inflict irreparable penalty on any of his slaves. Only after computation of his wrong deeds and his services does he indulge his anger, if he finds the former to be more numerous and greater than the latter.[2] They say that no one has ever killed his own father or mother. Whatever deeds of this kind have been done, they declare must prove on inquiry to have been the work of changelings or children born in adultery, for that it is not rational to conceive of a real parent slain by his own child.

138. Whatsoever things they may not do, of these they may not speak. Most disgraceful of all is lying accounted, and next to this to be in debt. Many reasons are assigned for this, but the chief is that they say the debtor is sure to lie as well. If any citizen has leprosy, of one kind or the other,[3] he does not enter a city nor mingle with other Persians. They say he is thus afflicted because he has sinned against the Sun. Every stranger seized with these diseases they expel from their country: many also drive out white doves, charging them with the same mischief.[4]

139. Into a river they neither make water nor spit, nor do

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[1] See p. 130 f. No doubt the μοῦνα in this famous dictum is to be indulgently interpreted, as epigrams usually demand. Reading, for example, was an accomplishment more likely to be learnt before twenty than after: the existence of the Inscriptions is presumptive evidence of its prevalence.

[2] For the corresponding characteristic of divine justice, see pp. 144, 170.

[3] λεύκη is said to be a mild leprosy: λέπρη is thus a severer form.

[4] Leprosy offends because of its *whiteness*, and white doves are tabu for the same reason. In *Yt* 10¹²⁶ Cisti, "Knowledge," drives at the left hand of Mithra, a semi-solar *yazata*, "clothed in white robes, and white herself." White horses drew the car of Dyaus (p. 59), and white horses were offered to the Strymon (p. 216). Whiteness might then be tabu in Iran as an invasion of a divine monopoly. The white dress of the Magi in Diogenes (p. 415) may thus emphasise their sacred character.

they wash their hands therein nor allow anyone else to do so, for they reverence rivers most highly.[1] Another peculiarity has not been observed by the Persians themselves, but it has not escaped our notice. Their names, which suit their personal appearance and their love of grand style, always end with the same letter—that which Dorians call *San* and Ionians *Sigma*. If you examine them you will find that the names of Persians, not merely some but all alike, end in this sound.[2]

140. This much I can say about the Persians from exact knowledge. Other things are talked of as secrets and not openly, with regard to the dead—how that the corpse of a Persian is not buried before it has been torn by bird or dog. Now I know the Magi do this, for they do it without concealment; but the Persians cover the corpse with wax and bury it in the earth.[3] But the Magi are very different from other men, and especially from the priests in Egypt. The latter hold it a sacred duty to slay no living thing, save what they sacrifice; but the Magi slay with their own hands all animals except a dog and a man, and they make this an object of rivalry, slaying alike ants and snakes and other reptiles and birds.[4] As to this custom, let it stand as it has been practised from the first; but I will return to my former subject.

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[1] See above, p. 216. Messrs How and Wells appropriately quote the deposition of a king for building bath-houses (*SBE*, iv.^{2} 116 n.)!

[2] Herodotus seems rather to plume himself on his linguistic acumen, but of course the remark is wholly wrong. Names in -*iš* and -*uš* were in fact the only names that did end in a sibilant: he was generalising from Græcised forms in -ας, -ης or -ος.

[3] Note the suggestion of secrecy, due perhaps to a sharp conflict in this matter between the masses who would follow their Magian kin, and the Iranian castes which clung to their old customs. The distinction drawn here between Magi and Persians is most valuable, and shows the accurate observation which is evidenced almost throughout this account. Compare the Scythian custom in iv. 71 (κατακεκηρωμένον τὸ σῶμα): here we have the genuine Iranian as against the aboriginal practice. See note on Strabo xv. 20 (p. 409 f.), and the discussion above, p. 202 f.

[4] The most conspicuously Ahrimanian creatures are singled out, while ἀγώνισμα well describes the merit that accumulated from this duty. It is purely Magian, alien alike from genuine Persian religion and from Zarathushtra's Reform. On birds contrast Plutarch (p. 400).

Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris*, cc. 46 f.

Plutarch has been speaking of two principles, of Good and Evil, intermingled in the world around us, according to the doctrine of various poets and philosophers, and enshrined in religious rites both Greek and foreign. He proceeds :—

46. And this is the view of the greatest number and the wisest of men. For some recognise two gods, as it were rival artificers, the one the creator of good things, the other of worthless. But others call the better[1] power God, and the other a dæmon,[2] as does Zoroaster[3] the Magus,[4] who they say flourished five thousand years before the Trojan War.[5] Now he called the one Horomazes and the other Areimanios;[6] and he showed, moreover, that the former resembled Light more than any other thing perceived by the senses, while the latter again is like darkness and ignorance: intermediate between them is Mithres, wherefore also the Persians call Mithres the Mediator.[7] And he taught them to sacrifice to the one offerings of vows and thanksgivings, and to the other offerings for averting ill, and things of gloom.[8] For pounding in a mortar a herb called omomi,[9] they invoke Hades and darkness : then having mingled

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[1] The comparative answers exactly to the Gathic *spanyah* in *Ys* 45^2, where "the holier of the Two Spirits thus spake to the Enemy."

[2] That is a divine being of inferior rank.

[3] Ζωρόαστρις : on the Greek forms of the name, see p. 426 f.

[4] That Zoroaster was a Magian is the general Greek view, the force of which is discounted by the fact (see p. 426) that the Greeks—Xanthus the Lydian excepted (p. 412)—knew nothing of him till the middle of the fourth century B.C., which is more than two centuries after his traditional date (p. 18). For some arguments against the assumption, see pp. 116-8 and 197 f.

[5] This very general Greek exaggeration is supposed to arise from a misunderstanding of the Zoroastrian æons of three thousand years : p. 403 f.

[6] On these forms see p. 422-6.

[7] See the discussion upon Mithra, esp. p. 65 f.

[8] As noted above, p. 127 f., the idea of propitiating the powers of darkness was utterly alien to Zarathushtra's system. It was found in Mithraism—derived, as we have seen, from Iranian religion untouched by the Reform : cf. the dedication Deo Arimanio, and other examples noted in Lecture IV. Nocturnal libations are mentioned in the Avesta, as noticed on p. 129, and Herodotus witnesses a cult of *ὁ ὑπὸ γῆν λεγόμενος εἶναι θεός*, answering exactly to Hades here and in other Greek texts.

[9] The Teubner editor prints Μῶλυ without comment. Prof. Cumont (*Textes et Monuments*, ii. 34) accepts it, remarking that de Lagarde con-

it with the blood of a slaughtered wolf,[1] they bear it forth into a sunless place and cast it away. For certain of the plants they count to belong to the good God, and others to the evil dæmon; and of animals some, as dogs and birds and hedgehogs, belong to the good power,[2] and water-rats[3] to the bad, wherefore they count fortunate him that has slain most.

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jectured the reading, and Bernardakis put it in his text ("d'après le *Marcianus*?"). On this point my friend Prof. Deissmann of Berlin has kindly consulted Prof. Wilamowitz for me, who writes as follows:—"ΟΜΩΜΙ ist als Überlieferung anzusehen, das heisst so hatte der Text, den wir erreichen; es ist eine Handschrift des Planudes. ΜΩΛΥ gibt Dübner; es kann nur Conjectur sein, Urheber unbekannt. (Auf Grund des den künftigen Herausgebern der Moralia bekannten Materials.)" Since Bernardakis professes to give the variants from MSS., this is in keeping with the character of his edition as exposed years ago by the great scholar to whom I owe this note. Hommel (*Geog.*, 207) compares Syr. *hemāmā*, ἄμωμον in Aristotle and Theophrastus. If this is correct, Plutarch must have received ultimately from Aramaic sources the name of a plant substituted by popular etymology for the *haoma*, which was of course intended. The ὅλμος is familiar in the Avesta (*hāvana*).

[1] Cumont notes that the custom is quite unknown: the nearest illustration is Herodotus i. 132, which, however, only gives us a parallel ritual for the powers of light. Windischmann compared *Ys* 9^{21}, where Haoma is entreated to give his worshipper first sight of the wolf: compare *lupi Moerim videre priores*. This parallel does not take us far, though it rather endorses Ahriman's rights in the wolf. Note, however, that the province *Varkāna* (Av. *Vəhrkāna*) or Hyrcania was named from the wolf.

[2] They devour corpses and insects, which are conspicuous among Ahriman's creation. The holiness of the dog is still more securely based. As to birds, cf. the *Tobit* story, p. 253 above.

[3] Rapp (i. 82) renders χερσαίους ἐχίνους *Landigel*, and ἐνύδρους μῦς *Wasserigel*. But it seems strange to equate ἔχινοι and μύες. (Apart from this, having trodden on a sea-urchin while bathing in Jamaica, I should acquiesce in Ahriman's claim to the animal.) It does not seem likely that μῦς here = *mussels*: the obvious water-rat seems to meet the conditions. Jackson (*Grundriss*, ii. 666) brilliantly compares the she-devil *Mūš Pairikā* (*Ys* 16^{8} and 68^{8}), who on the authority of the Bundahish is supposed to be a comet, or something responsible for a lunar eclipse: the former would suit our sea-urchin or other creature with spines. The killing of Ahrimanian creatures is of course a high virtue in the Magian system. Windischmann (*Zor. St.*, 282), who quotes Plutarch, *Quaest. Conv.*, iv. 5^{2}, translates *Wassermäuse*: he cites *Vd* 13^{2} for the χερσαῖος ἔχινος, which "after midnight kills thousands of Ahriman's creatures." Cumont observes simply, "Quel animal?"

47. Moreover, they also tell many mythical tales about the gods, such as the following. Horomazes, born from the purest light, and Areimanios, born from the gloom, strive in war with one another. And Horomazes created six gods,[1] the first of Good Will, the second of Truth, the third of Good Government, and of the rest the one as maker of wisdom, another of wealth, and another of pleasures in beautiful things. And Areimanios created as it were rival artificers to these, equal in number to them.[2] Then Horomazes having extended himself

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[1] It may be assumed that Plutarch would call the ἀντίτεχνοι of the Amshaspands δαίμονες like their chief, but he does not use the word below. For the Six in detail see pp. 110–5. They correspond in order as above to Vohu Manah (Εὔνοια), Asha (Ἀλήθεια), Khshathra (Εὐνομία), Aramaiti (σοφίας δημιουργός), Haurvatât (πλούτου δημ.), and Ameretât (τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς καλοῖς ἡδέων δημ.). The equivalents are accurate enough till we come to the last two. Health and wealth are associated in English on excellent authority, but are hardly the same thing; and we do not improve matters by trying Khshathra (with Tiele). And it is exceedingly curious that Plutarch should have gone so far astray with Ameretât, the simplest conception of all. The two last Ameshas never had anything like the prominence of the first four. Plutarch seems to give not only them but Aramaiti a secondary rank, which as far as the latter is concerned is by no means in keeping with the Avesta. It should be noted, however, that in the Haptanghaiti Gatha Aramaiti is not named more than once, and Haurvatat and Ameretat not at all, though their special provinces, Water and Plants, are as conspicuous as the first three Amshaspands. Plutarch's text as it stands is so entirely wide of the mark in its equivalent for Ameretat that corruption is suggested: Cumont's ἰδεῶν for ἡδέων, "Creator of the Ideas connected with good things," is exceedingly ingenious. Prof. Cumont observes the Platonism, which is of course in Plutarch, not in Parsism. He thinks this involves bringing in the rôle of Vohumanah. If we had to justify this, we might note how in Cappadocia, according to the usual emendation and interpretation of Strabo (see p. 101), "Omanus and Amardatus" are σύμβωμοι. But is it not simpler to recall that the very essence of Platonic Ideas is their immortality, as distinguished from the fleeting mortality of their earthly shadows?

[2] See *Bd* 28^{7} (*SBE*, v. 106 f.), and compare *Vd* 10^{9}, 19^{43} (Cumont). Mrs Maunder puts the point exceedingly well in a striking paper on the Tishtrya mythus in *The Observatory* (Dec., 1912): "Some say that we owe the game of chess to the Persians, and on that chequered field the conflicting armies are equal and opposite; every white piece is balanced by a black piece, exactly equivalent in name and form and powers. So it was with the Zoroastrian [Magian, I would say] plan of the universe; the two great armies of good and evil were equal and opposite. It is true that the

threefold[1] withdrew himself from the sun by as much as the Sun is withdrawn from the earth, and he adorned the sky with stars;[2] and one star he established before them all as a kind of watchman and scout, Sirius.[3] And having made other four-and-twenty gods he put them in an egg.[4] But they that were born from Areimanios, being of the same number, bored through the egg

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law of the game was 'White to move, and mate in so many millenniums,' but the two forces corresponded in number and in detail—they were counterparts."

[1] This may possibly be a confused version of the story of Yima, who thrice enlarged the earth, by one-third each time (*Vd* $2^{11\cdot15\cdot19}$). Jackson (*Grd.*, 671) refers it to the doctrine of heavenly spheres, which he says is recognisable in Zoroastrianism. So Windischmann (*Zor. St.*, 283), who compares the three heavens through which the soul ascends to *Garōnmāna*.

[2] This at any rate is Avestan doctrine, whatever may be thought of the context: in *Ys* 31^{7} Ahura "first planned that the heavenly realms be clothed with lights." So in the Inscriptions Auramazda "made yon heaven." Cumont adds the reference to Bundahish, ch. ii. (*SBE*, v. 10 f.).

[3] This primacy of Sirius is apparent in the Tishtrya Yasht.

[4] "A common figure for the *Weltkugel* in antiquity," says Rapp (ii. 63), who notes that it does not seem like a piece of popular myth-making. But Darmesteter (*OA*, 133) quotes the Cosmic Egg from the Minokhired (*SBE*, xxiv. 85), and from Manu, so that the idea might even be Aryan. Whether similar myths in other regions are casually or causally connected, we need not stay to inquire. The 24 Yazatas are not thus numbered in Avestan texts, though Prof. Jackson observes that when the days of the month sacred to Ahura and the Amesha are deducted about 24 remain. But with so much obviously alien matter in the context, I am tempted to look elsewhere than in the Avesta, especially as the number is so precise. Prof. Cumont (*Astrology*, p. 33) speaks of 24 stars, outside the Zodiac, "twelve in the northern and twelve in the southern hemisphere, which, being sometimes visible, sometimes invisible, became the judges of the living and the dead." Gunkel (*Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des N.T.*, p. 43 n.) refers to an important passage in Diodorus (*Bibl. Hist.*, ii. 31) which is Cumont's source here. He attaches special importance to a note of Prof. Zimmern's that these stars or constellations are set in circles round the polar stars, as the 24 πρεσβύτεροι in Rev. 4^{4} are set round the Throne. This may or may not convince us. But what does he mean when he goes on to remark that these 24 signs are "of course" 24 divisions of the Zodiac ("die 24 Sternbilder . . . sind natürlich 24 Abteilungen des Tierkreises")? Diodorus expressly says they were *outside* the Zodiac, and Zimmern's remark implies that they are not far from the Poles.

[at the top and brought them out, wh][1]ence evil things have been mingled with the good. But there will come a determined period when Areimanios bringing plague and famine must be utterly destroyed by these,[2] and made to vanish away; and the earth having become flat and level,[3] men shall have one life and one commonwealth, all being blessed and speaking one tongue.[4] And Theopompus[5] says that, according to the Magi, for three thousand years in succession the one of these gods rules and the other is ruled; for the next three thousand they fight and war and break up one another's domains;[6] but finally Hades with Plutarch's exposition if we take the opening ἀνὰ μέρος as "in succession, applying to all the periods instead of the first only, and then translate "one of the gods [viz. Horomazdes] is in power, and the other is subject." On this point Prof. J. G. Frazer kindly sends me the following note:—

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[1] Γανωθὲν seems certainly corrupt: I tentatively translate Bernardakis' conjectural supplement, but without any confidence. The next sentence would rather suggest that he brought his 24 into the *Weltei.*

[2] The familiar Greek combination λοιμός λιμός suggests by itself that we have here no Avestan or other Iranian material. Ahriman was to be destroyed by the *ayah χšusta*, or flood of molten metal. See p. 157.

[3] Cf. *Bd* 30^{33} (*SBE*, v. 129): "This too it says, that this earth becomes an iceless, slopeless plain." West remarks, "Mountains, being the work of the evil spirit, disappear with him." But this was certainly no feature of pure Zoroastrianism, in which (as in Aryan thought generally) mountains were holy. It is a Magian trait: see above, p. 213 f.

[4] The suggestion that the confusion of tongues is a curse to be removed at the Regeneration naturally suggests a Semitic source; but it is quite in keeping with the principles of Magianism, though not actually found.

[5] According to Diogenes Laertius (*Procem.*, 6), Theopompus (flor. 338 B.C.) wrote about the Magian doctrines in the eighth book of his *Philippica.* Probably we must regard his information as starting with this sentence, and not recognise his authority for anything earlier.

[6] The more natural translation is that which Prof. Frazer gives: see below. A world year of 12,000 years was established in the system by Sassanian times. Mani taught thus (Söderblom, *La Vie Future*, 248 n.[4]), and we have a full statement of it in the Bundahish (*SBE*, v. 149). In *Bd* 1^{8-20} the system of trimillennial periods is set forth. In the first the creatures "remained in a spiritual state, so that they were unthinking and unmoving, with intangible bodies." Then Auharmazd proposed to the evil spirit that there should be a period of 9000 years for conflict: he knew this would be his enemy's undoing. Aharman, being ignorant (cf. Plutarch's ἄγνοια above), agreed to this. So "for 3000 years everything proceeds by the will of Auharmazd, 3000 years there is an intermingling of the wills of Auharmazd and Aharman, and the last 3000 years the evil spirit is disabled, and they keep the adversary away from the creatures." Theopompus seems to have been ignorant of the first period, during which (as West takes it) only the fravashis of the creatures afterwards produced were in existence. The period of Ahura Mazdâh's supremacy may be reconciled

"If we could interpret the words (as, apart from the context, they naturally would be interpreted) to mean 'in alternate periods of three thousand years first one and then the other god prevails,' this theory would resemble Empedocles's view of the alternate periods in which Love or Hate (Attraction or Repulsion) respectively prevails, so that the universe, under the influence of the one or the other, alternately contracts or expands, the periods of motion (whether of attraction or of repulsion) being separated by intervals of equilibrium and rest, in which the one force has exhausted itself and the other has not yet begun to move all things in the reverse direction. It is tempting to interpret the ἠρεμεῖν καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι χρόνον, etc., of such intervals of equilibrium or peace separating periods of motion or conflict. If there is anything in this suggestion, the MSS. reading ἀπολείπεσθαι is to be preferred to the ἀπολεῖσθαι or ἀπολέσθαι of modern critics, since the reference would be to a temporary failure of the bad power's influence, not to its total extinction. As to Empedocles's theory of the alternation of the world-periods under the opposite forces of Love and Hate (Attraction and Repulsion) see Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen*, I.^{4} 678 sqq., especially pp. 704 sqq., where he says, 'Die Zeiten der Bewegung und des Naturlebens wechseln daher regelmässig mit solchen der Naturlosigkeit und der Ruhe.' The length of these periods is unknown; but Zeller adds in a footnote: 'Das einzige, was in dieser Beziehung vorliegt, ist die . . . Bestimmung dass schuldhafte Dämonen 30,000 Horen in der Welt umherirren sollen.' The τρὶς μυρίαι ὧραι have been variously understood as 30,000 years or 30,000 seasons (10,000 years). In any case the 30,000 of Empedocles is a curious echo of the 3000 of Zoroaster. By the way, Empedocles's doctrine of the alternate world-periods of contraction and expansion closely resembles Herbert Spencer's theory of alternate periods of evolution and dissolution. I have occasion incidentally to point out the parallelism in the forthcoming part of *The Golden Bough*."

This interesting suggestion has the considerable advantage of explaining the difficult words ἠρεμεῖν κτλ, which, as far as I can see, have no analogue in the Zoroastrian system. In that case we must be on our guard in using Plutarch as a source, since he is suspected of interpolating Greek elements —unless, indeed, Empedocles got hints from Persia. Another line is suggested by Böklen (*Pars. Esch.*, 82), who points out that in Ardâ Vîraf (18 and 54) a world-age of 9000 years is presumed, and in Plutarch 6000. (He observes that on Zoroastrian principles it is impossible to imagine Angra Mainyu having dominion over Mazdâh, so that we must translate as in my text above.) Accordingly he suggests that the 9000 of Ardâ Vîraf and the 12,000 of the Bundahish represent successive accretions to an older 6000. This enables him to compare Jewish-Christian apocalyptic, where a cycle of 6000 or 7000 years bases itself obviously on the week of creation, interpreted is to fail,[1] and men will become happy, neither needing food nor casting shadows,[2] while the god who brought these things

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by the principle stated in 2 Pet. 3^8 and elsewhere. It seems to me that if this is the original we must postulate Semitic sources for the Magian doctrine Plutarch describes, for only in this field can we find an adequate motive for the number.

For the next period the Greek and Pahlavi authorities agree: but Theopompus does not connect any millennial reckoning with the time of final triumph.

[1] On ἀπολείπεσθαι, often corrected to ἀπολεῖσθαι, see Dr Frazer's note. Böklen (*Pars. Esch.*, 102 ff.) has an acute discussion of it on the assumption that the text is correct. He shows, rightly enough, that the Greek verb must be badly forced if we are to assume that the destruction of Ahriman is meant. He would take τὸν Ἅιδην literally, and render "Hades is to be deserted," which gives us the desiderated reference to the Resurrection, elsewhere not alluded to by Plutarch. This is strange, since he knew and quoted Theopompus, who is expressly cited by Diogenes Laertius (p. 415 f., below) for Magian belief in the future life: the words are ὃς (sc. Theopompus) καὶ ἀναβιώσεσθαι κατὰ τοὺς Μάγους φησὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἔσεσθαι ἀθανάτους καὶ τὰ ὄντα ταῖς αὐτῶν ἐπικλήσεσι διαμενεῖν. The quotation is confirmed by Æneas of Gaza (*De Animi Immortalitate*, 77), ὁ δὲ Ζωροάστρης προλέγει ὡς ἔσται ποτὲ χρόνος ἐν ᾧ πάντων νεκρῶν ἀνάστασις ἔσται. οἶδεν ὁ Θεόπομπος. Since Plutarch does not, like Aristotle, expressly identify Ahriman and Hades, there certainly seems a strong case for this rendering. But it may be noticed that if Theopompus really gave the doctrine as Zoroaster's, as Æneas says—κατὰ τοὺς Μάγους being due to Diogenes—we are left free to explain Plutarch's silence from our converging evidence that the Magi had no doctrine of the Future Life apart from their acceptance of Zoroastrianism. Plutarch's picture (cf. below) is remarkably true—apart from some Greek elements—to the doctrines we should on other grounds suppose the Magi to have held in the first century A.D.: the complete syncretism of Magianism and Zoroastrianism proper was not achieved till the Sassanian era.

[2] Cf. *Bd* 30^{1-3}, where it is said that at the first the primeval pair fed on water, then plants, then milk, then meat: so when men's time comes to die they desist from meat, then from milk, then from bread, and finally feed on water. So in the end men's appetite will diminish, one taste of consecrated food sufficing for three days and nights. After that they desist from the foods in this order, "and for ten years before Sôshyans comes they remain without food and do not die." Since Ahriman is the power of darkness, it is logical that shadows should belong to his province and vanish when he is destroyed. Compare *Yt* 10^{68} and 15^{27}. Another reason for the disappearance of shadows in the life beyond death is that suggested by Darmesteter's notable extract from the *Great Bundahish*, cited above, p. 256 f. Since at death a man's "form," or more literally "image," flies up to the

to pass[1] is quiet and rests for a season, not a long one for a god, but moderately long as it were for a man that sleeps.[2] Such, then, is the mythology of the Magi.

On a review of this most important *locus classicus* we cannot help being powerfully struck with the almost exclusively Magian character of the sources Plutarch has employed. There is nothing whatever here that we can credit to Zarathushtra, except what we find perpetuated in the Magian parts of the Later Avesta; and the most conspicuous parallels we have to seek in the Pahlavi books, of which on any showing the Magian authorship is secure. We have already noted the possibility that the World-age of 6000 years is due to Semitic thought, modified in Sassanian Magianism by new elements, which in their turn seem to be Babylonian. To the same source we attributed the Twenty-four gods. The dualism of Plutarch's picture goes far beyond anything we find in the Avesta. Sacrifices Deo Arimanio, found in the syncretic system of Mithraism, are utterly alien to Avestan thought. Characteristics of the Magian doctrine may be recognised in the emphasis on the stars (though Plutarch's brief account gives nothing actually alien to the Avesta here), and the curious view of mountains as creations of evil: see p. 213 f. The Amesha Spenta are adopted, it is true, and so is the name Areimanios, which are both due to Zarathushtra's thought. But it is pointed out

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sun, he may well be without shadow in the next existence. But the antiquity of the psychology in this passage cannot be proved: it differs from the Avestan, as noted there.

[1] Windischmann accepted Markland's *μηχανησόμενον*, and assumed that Saoshyant was intended. Söderblom (*La Vie Future*, 244 n.[3]) urges that *Θεός* should mean Ahura Mazdâh, as in the preceding phrase. Another suggestion of Windischmann was that Sâma Keresâspa is the *θεός*, referring to his rising from long sleep to take part in the Regeneration. Keresâspa's place in the Avesta is hardly that of a *θεός*. (See Dr Frazer, above.)

[2] The ordinary text is probably corrupt: I render without much confidence the Teubner *ἄλλως* for *καλῶς*. Söderblom would read *καλῶς μὲν οὖν* (for *οὐ*) *πολύν*, *τῷ* [*δὲ*] *θεῷ ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπῳ κοιμωμένῳ μέτριον*. Böklen (*Pars. Esch.*, 81 n.) suggests *καινωμένῳ* (*sic*—*καινουμένῳ* is presumably meant), explaining that "die Selbstverjüngung des Gottes die Voraussetzung ist für die Verjüngung und Erneuerung der Menschheit." Neither seems to solve the problem.

elsewhere that even the name Angra Mainyu is only the stereotyping of a casual collocation, occurring only once in the Gathas, the fixing of which belongs most certainly to distant successors of Zarathushtra. The Ameshas also have been developed since Zarathushtra's day in directions very different from those to which he pointed. The Six in Plutarch have all the features of the Magian adaptation. There are the six ἀντίτεχνοι, a conception with an unmistakable Magian hall-mark, but essentially absent from the Avesta except in scanty hints. And it is perhaps not without significance that the one Amesha whose character Plutarch misinterprets is "Immortality," since the Magi evidently did not take to this doctrine for generations, native as it was to the Aryans and developed by Zarathushtra. We should compare the Magian original of *Tobit* (p. 252 f.).

The conclusion forced on me is that in Plutarch's day the Magi were still keeping up their own system, extended to a very limited degree by adaptations derived from Aryan and Zoroastrian sources. They took over these elements largely in order to win their way among the populace who followed a degenerate form of Aryan polytheism, influenced mostly in externals by the Zarathushtrian Reform. Otherwise they had changed but little: the Sassanian revival was still far off.

Strabo, xv. 3. 13 ff. (p. 732 f.)

13. Persian customs are the same as those of the Medes and many others, concerning which sundry have written: I must, however, tell of what is important. Persians, then, do not set up images and altars, but sacrifice on a high place, regarding the Sky as Zeus.[1] They honour also the Sun, whom they call Mithras,[2] and the Moon, and Aphrodite,[3] and Fire and Earth, and Winds and Water. They sacrifice in a pure place after dedicatory prayer, having set the victim by them garlanded. The Magus who presides over the rite divides the animal limb from limb, and they take their portions and depart, assigning

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[1] This seems simply borrowed from Herodotus (p. 391).

[2] This is of course an advance on Herodotus, whose knowledge about Mithra was scanty (p. 238). The identification of Mithra and the Sun had advanced rapidly.

[3] Anâhita, who is here mentioned apart from Mithra.

no portion to the gods. They say the deity needs the soul of the victim, but nothing more: they do, however, according to some, put a little piece of the caul upon the fire.

14. They make a difference between fire and water in their manner of sacrifice. For the Fire, they put on it dry logs without the bark,[1] adding fat from above: then they kindle it from below, pouring oil over it, not blowing it,[2] but fanning it; any who have blown it, or have laid a dead body or dung upon fire, they put to death. For Water, when they have come to a lake, a river, or a spring, they dig a trench and slay the victim over it, taking care that none of the water close by may be splashed with blood, since they would thus defile it.[3] Then setting in order the flesh upon myrtle or bay, the Magi touch it with thin rods[4] and chant a hymn, pouring a libation of oil mingled with milk and honey, not into the fire or the water, but on the ground; and they keep up the chants for a long time, holding a bundle of thin tamarisk rods.[5]

15. In Cappadocia, where the Magian tribe is numerous, being called *fire-priests* (πύραιθοι),[6] and shrines of the Persian gods are also numerous, they do not even kill with a knife, but by striking the victim with a log of wood, as if with a pestle.[7]

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[1] The entirely reasonable requirement that Âtar must have carefully dried wood given to him may be seen in a verse fragment in *Vd* 18^{27} (cf. *ERPP*, 157), which is presumably old. The additional requirement that it must be *purified* (*yaozdāta*) may well have meant originally that the bark must be stripped off, as here. Cf. Lat. *delubrum*, and *ERE*, ii. 44.

[2] This suits the Parsi ritual use of the *paitidāna*, a small napkin worn over nose and mouth by a priest before the Fire, to prevent his breath from polluting it.

[3] Contrast Herod., vii. 113, where the Magi in the suite of Xerxes sacrificed white horses to the Strymon: the words seem to imply that a jet of blood was directed into the water.

[4] This item is not quite clear. The carpet of myrtle or bay is a development of the old Aryan *barhiṣ-barəziš* (see p. 190). Are the "thin rods" simply the first stage of making a *barsom*, consecrating it by touching sacrificial meat?

[5] This is of course the *barsom*: the notice is interesting as showing the kind of plant then used. It is still used in Yezd.

[6] I.e. *āθravanō*.

[7] This was presumably to avoid the shedding of blood—an extension of the precaution observed above. Cf. J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*^{3}, ii. 241: royal criminals in Siam were pounded to death in iron cauldrons, because

There are also fire-temples (πυραιθεῖα), a peculiar sort of enclosure, in the middle of which is an altar, with abundance of ashes upon it, and the Magi guard thereon a fire that is never quenched. They enter these by day,[1] and chant for almost an hour before the fire holding the bundle of rods, wearing felt headgear (τιάρας), which falls down on both sides for the cheek pieces to cover the lips.[2] The same usages are practised in the shrines of Anaïtis and Omanus:[3] these also have secret enclosures, and an image of Omanus goes in procession. These things I have seen myself, but the former details and those to follow are described in the books of history.

[Sections following deal with manners and customs: a few sentences are excerpted.]

17 fin. Marriages are consummated at the beginning of the spring equinox.[4] The bridegroom goes to the bridal chamber after first eating an apple or the marrow of a camel,[5] but nothing else that day.

20 (p. 735). They bury their dead after covering the body with wax.[6] The Magi they do not bury, but leave them to

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the royal blood must not be spilt on the ground. Dr Frazer gives much evidence (*op. cit.*, 243 ff.) to show the widespread "unwillingness to shed blood, or at least to allow it to fall on the ground."

[1] For any ritual of the kind performed at night would all go to the profit of the Daēvas, as the Vendidad shows.

[2] See note [2], p. 408. The description here answers in every particular to the familiar medallion of a priest before the Fire, reproduced on the title-page of Geldner's *Avesta*, from MSS. more than a thousand years later than Strabo. There is the *barsom* and the *penom* (*paitidāna*), the coal-scuttle hat with παραγναθίδες, and the book out of which the priest chants a Yasht (cf. Hdt., ἐπαείδει θεογονίην). Compare also the passage from Pausanias, quoted p. 208, n.

[3] This is assumed to be Vohumanah, chief of the Amesha in Later Avesta. If so, we have a significant divergence from the aniconic worship of the Avesta. For the one (late) Avestan parallel, see p. 101 above.

[4] When the productive powers of nature are in full activity.

[5] The names of *Zarathuštra* and *Fraša-uštra* are evidence of the part the camel took in Iran. There may possibly be an allusion to the sexual power of the camel: cf. Tahmuras' Frag. 65 (*SBE*, iv.^{2} 289, and Darmesteter's note).

[6] With this compare, not only Strabo's possible source, Herodotus, i. 140 (p. 398), but also a passage later in this Book (p. 746, ch. i. 20), where

be devoured by birds. It is the latter who by ancestral custom actually mate with their mothers.[1]

Diogenes Laertius, *Proœmium*

Diogenes[2] introduces his account of famous philosophers by remarking that Philosophy is said to have owed its origin to foreigners (βάρβαροι). Thus "the Persians had Magians, the Babylonians or Assyrians Chaldæans, the Indians had Gymnosophists [fakîrs], the Kelts and Galatians the so-called Druids and Semnothei, as Aristotle says in Τό Μαγικόν,[3] and Sotion in the 23rd book of his Διαδοχή." A few lines lower down he proceeds:—

"Now from the time of the Magi (whose chief was the Persian Zoroaster) up to the taking of Troy 5000 years elapsed, according to the Platonist Hermodorus in his book Περὶ Μαθημάτων. Xanthus the Lydian, however, says 600 (?) years passed between Zoroaster and the invasion of Xerxes; and that after him there was a long succession (διαδοχή) of Magi, with names like Ostanes, Astrampsychus, Gobryas, and Pazates, up to the conquest of the Persians by Alexander."

The four names of Magi succeeding Zoroaster are explained by Windischmann (*Studien*, 286) as recalling (1) Av. *uštā*, see the Uštavaiti Gatha; (2) *Vāstryō fšuyąs*, the name of agriculturists, given actually to Zarathushtra and his son; (3) *Gaubaruva*

Strabo says of the Assyrians, "They wail for their dead, as do the Egyptians and many others; and they bury them in honey, having covered them with wax." The words θάπτουσι κηρῷ περιπλάσαντες are common to both: Herodotus says κατακηρώσαντες γῇ κρύπτουσι. The difference of phraseology may possibly imply a supplementary source, which makes the note of a similar custom in Mesopotamia interesting. There is a further parallel in Herodotus, in his account of the Scythians (iv. 71), who "take up the corpse, κατακεκηρωμένον μὲν τὸ σῶμα κτλ." That Strabo omits the *dogs* has been noted above (pp. 202).

[1] Τούτοις δὲ καὶ μητράσι συνέρχεσθαι πάτριον νενόμισται. On this subject see p. 204–8.

[2] He called himself apparently Diogenes *Laertiades* (*Laertios*) by a punning use of the Homeric Διογενὲς Λαερτιάδη, with which Odysseus is so often addressed: it gave him a pen-name. Mr Hicks tells me that Wilamowitz anticipated this suggestion.

[3] So "in the anonymous list now referred to Hesychius," Mr Hicks tells me. It may of course be ὁ Μαγικός.

in Old Persian; (4) Πατιζείθης in Herodotus (iii. 61), which Windischmann would connect with *paiti·zan*, "acknowledge," specially in a religious sense (as *Ys* 29^{11}). It may be observed that the second of these—a most acute attempt to interpret a word that was certainly not invented—suits the case I have tried to make above (p. 117 f.), that the priesthood was originally no separate order. Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 1416) would put *v.fš* in antithesis to *āθravan*; but here a typical priest actually bears the name. Not much is added by later research to these notes of Windischmann, which at least bring out the entirely Iranian character of the names, and establish accordingly the certainty that the sources of Diogenes were not mere imaginative Greeks. The plural form in which the names occur "indicates type or class," says Prof. Jackson (*Zoroaster*, 138 n.). That is, they will be rather sects than individuals. Justi (*Namenbuch*, 52) says of "'Οστάναι" [why not 'Οστᾶναι?], "*Austāna* hiess ein Priesterschaft welche sich mit Astronomie beschäftigte (also von dem Worte Awestâ abzuleiten"), referring to this passage. The connexion with *Avesta* is unlikely enough. 'Αστραψύχους (p. 47) he only mentions as derived professedly, like the others, from Xanthus of Sardis: Suidas has 'Αστραμψύχους. Γωβρύας is of course a good Persian name, *Gaubaruva*: see Justi, p. 112. Παζάτας (p. 246) he compares with Patizeithes, and makes him "einer der Begründer der Magie." Rapp (*ZDMG*, xx. 72) gives some other classical quotations: note also that from Suidas, "'Οστᾶναι· οὗτοι πρώην παρὰ Πέρσαις Μάγοι ἐλέγοντο." It is at least possible that these four names may include more than one which really denotes a caste within the Magi of Sassanian times, for which Porphyry vouches (*De Abstin.*, iv. 16).

For the common idea among the Greeks that Zoroaster belonged to a period 6000 years before Alexander—which is the same as the date given by Hermodorus (fourth century B.C.) above—it will be enough to refer to Prof. Jackson's dissertation, *Zoroaster*, pp. 152 ff. Xanthus the Lydian was an elder contemporary of Herodotus,[1] according to Ephorus (*ap.* Athenæus, xii. 515). But unfortunately textual certainty fails here in a crucial matter. Two MSS. are said to read ἑξακισχίλια instead of ἑξακόσια, and Cobet (1850) adopted this reading, which accords with many other classical notices and is, I fear, more likely to be right. In view of some doubts attaching to the fragments of Xanthus, and the impossibility of depending on our text of this extract in Diogenes, I reluctantly pass on. But the notice is most tantalising, for it throws back by a century the earliest mention of Zarathushtra by a Greek writer, and it puts his *floruit* into the eleventh century B.C., which is just about the period that on other grounds I should very much like to give him, as explained in Lecture III. above. I must not stop to discuss Xanthus in general, a task which belongs to the historians and the specialists on Greek literature; but it may be fairly noted that this particular extract is reasonable enough, and I should be well pleased to find it genuine. I note that in W. Christ's authoritative work on Greek literature (in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch*), ed.^{6}, p. 454, it is observed that the finding of the Escurial fragment of Nicolaus Damascenus in 1848 rehabilitated the credit of the Xanthus remains by the accurate local colour displayed. Mr Hicks refers me to Busolt (II.^{2} 451), who "writes as if he accepted without a doubt the existence of a Lydian historian in the reign of Artaxerxes." Before leaving Xanthus, I ought to refer to his other fragment which interests us, preserved by Nicolaus Damascenus (first century B.C.): the text may be seen in Jackson's *Zoroaster*, p. 232. He speaks of "Zoroaster's oracles," in connexion with the Sibyl's responses, and then attributes to Zoroaster the precept not to burn corpses or otherwise pollute fire. If, then, Xanthus is really our oldest authority, we gather from him that Zoroaster was already—in less than a century and a half, on the orthodox view!—invested with immemorial antiquity, and his name annexed by the Magi for the sanction of their most characteristic practice. So far, then, as his authority goes, I should quote him as evidence for dating Zarathushtra some centuries before the era fixed by the native tradition.

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[1] Obviously Xanthus could not have named Alexander, except by a gift of second sight. But careless quotation on the part of Diogenes will perhaps sufficiently account for the anachronism.

These extracts, however, I have only given to prepare for the *locus classicus* that follows in §§ 6 to 9 (ch. vi.). A paper by Mr Hicks upon Magian Doctrine in these sections, read before the Cambridge Philological Society on October 26th, 1911 claims that "the authors cited" by the compiler "were at least as old as the fourth century B.C., except Hermippus and Sotion, who belonged to the third century. A comparison with the Avesta and other Parsee scriptures confirms the accuracy of the account as a whole." The disabilities of a no longer resident member of the Society have been made up for me by Mr Hicks's kindness in sending me his paper and permitting me to quote from it. His authority on all matters of Greek scholarship, and especially Greek philosophy, is such as to lend peculiar value to his impressions of the Parsi theology, even though read only in translations. Firstly, I borrow his version of the passage entire, with one or two of his notes which are important for my purpose: I attach to these the initials R. D. H., as in other notes upon this subject with which he has most kindly furnished me. He asks me to state that in his use of Avestan material he has mainly followed Darmesteter.

§ 6. [The Chaldæans busy themselves with astronomy and prediction,] but the Magi with the worship of the gods, with sacrifices and prayers, as if none but themselves have the ear of the gods. They propound their views concerning the being and origin of the gods, whom they hold to be fire, earth, and water.[1] They condemn the use of images,[2] and especially the error of those who attribute to the divinities difference of sex.[3] (7) They hold discourse of justice, and deem it impious to practise cremation; but they see no impiety in marriage with a mother or a daughter, as Sotion relates in his 23rd book.[1] Further, they practise divination, and forecast the future, declaring that the gods appear to them in visible form.[2] Moreover, they say that the air is full of shapes which stream forth like vapour, and enter the eyes of the keen-sighted.[3] They prohibit personal

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[1] This, of course, is not far from the truth, as far as genuine Magianism is concerned: as we have seen, it is very inadequate for Iranian religion, and utterly untrue for that of Zarathushtra.

[2] This may have been derived from the statement of Herodotus (i. 131: see note above, p. 391). But here the Magi did not care (or dare) to disturb a scruple thoroughly characteristic of Zarathushtra and of the pre-Reformation religion as well. See also p. 67 f.

[3] This would be true of Zarathushtra himself, for his feminine Amshaspands are only grammatically endowed with sex, and his first three are neuter. But it is far from true of the Magi, who even used the Avestan figurative description of Aramaiti as Ahura Mazdâh's "daughter" to enforce their own doctrine of the *Khvetuk-das* (see p. 204 f.). As little was it true of the Iranian Nature-worship: for example, as early as the Gatha Haptanghaiti there occurs the very Vedic denotation of the Waters as "wives of Ahura Mazdâh." If Diogenes is depending on a good authority, we have here seemingly a trait of the Prophet himself, not otherwise preserved, but entirely in character. In view of the scarcity of genuine

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notices of Zarathushtra in Greek writers, this is decidedly interesting: I wish we knew whom Diogenes was quoting.

[1] The *dakhma* and the *khvetuk-das* are combined, as so often in Greek accounts of the Magi.

[2] In the medallion reproduced from an Avestan MS. on the title-page of the great Avesta text of Geldner the figure of Ormazd is seen in the air above the sacred fire, before which the priest is ministering with *barsom* and service-book. An illustration from antiquity might be found in the Mazdeism of Commagene as set forth by Antiochus I.; see Lecture III., p. 107 f., where a sentence of the famous inscription is shown to embody the idea that a Fravashi could appear visibly. That this is by no means a genuine Zoroastrian field does not matter. Divination and prediction are Magian characteristics: see p. 196 f.

[3] "I take this word (ὀξυδερκῶν) literally, of keen sight. But if the writer attributed magic to the Magians, it might bear the sense of 'adepts,' 'Mahatmas.' Pliny in his tirade (*Nat. Hist.*, xxx. vi. 16) tells us that the Magians sometimes excused the failure of their séances by alleging physical defects, *e.g.* freckles, in those who took part in them. [In the whole sentence] (note the words εἰδώλων . . . κατ' ἀπόρροιαν ὑπ' ἀναθυμιάσεως εἰσκρινομένων) I suspect contamination with Greek philosophemes. For εἴδωλον is a technical term with the Atomists for the film or image emanating from objects perceived, and impinging upon the sense or the mind. Ἀπόρροια is used in nearly the same sense, particularly by Empedocles, but also by Leucippus and Democritus, for the efflux of minute particles which stream off (ἀπορρεῖ) from the surface of all perceptible bodies. Again, ἀναθυμίασις is a Heraclitean term denoting the evaporation of fine matter from earth and sea, and its volatilisation into air. Variations in this process cause day and night, the seasons and years, rain and wind. It feeds flames and the stars, and is identified with soul. Now, if this sentence refers to the manifestations of the gods mentioned in the preceding words (θεοὺς ἐμφανίζεσθαι), I suspect that the Greek writer is putting forward a theory of Greek physicists, which he thinks would partly account for such manifestations. Spiritual beings could not be discerned by way of efflux, image or exhalation. The archangels and archfiends of Mazdeism seem always to have their corporeal as well as their incorporeal or spiritual aspect, at any rate for the Greek authority whom Diogenes here follows" (R. D. H.). The statement cannot be justified from the Parsi side; for

ornament, and the wearing of gold. Their dress is white, they make their bed on the ground, and their food is herbs, cheese,[1] and coarse bread; their staff is a reed, and their custom is (so we are told) to stick it into the cheese, and take up with it the part they eat. (8) With the art of magic[2] they were wholly unacquainted, according to Aristotle in his *Magicus*, and Deinon[3] in the 5th book of his history. Deinon tells us that the name Zoroaster literally interpreted means star-worshipper;[4] and Hermodorus[5] agrees with him. Aristotle, in the first book of his dialogue *On Philosophy*, declares the Magi to be more ancient than the Egyptians;[6] further, that they believe in two principles, the good spirit and the evil spirit, the one called Zeus or Oromazdes,[7] the other Hades or Aremanius.[8] This is confirmed by Hermippus in his first book about the Magi, and by Eudoxus in his *Voyage round the World*, and by Theopompus in his *Philippica*.[9] (9) The last-named author says that according to the Magi men will live in a future life and be immortal,[1]

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there neither Ameshas nor Daēvas have any corporeal aspect. Perhaps the material provinces of the Ameshas (fire, earth, etc.) suggested the idea.

[1] Pliny records a story that Zoroaster lived in the wilderness on cheese. Cf. the *raoγna zaramaya*, "spring butter," which is the ambrosia of the blessed in Garō nmāna (*Yt* 22^{18}). On the white dress, see p. 397.

[2] *τὴν γοητικὴν μαντείαν*, *i.e.* "black magic." The Greeks distinguished between *μαγεία* and *γοητική*. See p. 208 f., and some good reff. in L. H. Gray's article on Persian Divination, *ERE*, iv. 818 f.

[3] Fourth century, like Aristotle.

[4] *Ἀστροθύτης.* On this see p. 201.

[5] Fourth century.

[6] I have adduced evidence in Lecture VI. taking them back to the seventh century, and we may assume that their characteristic position as a sacred tribe was much older than this. This justifies Aristotle as far as is necessary. I should enter a caveat as to Aristotle: Mr Hicks tells me that "not only Valentine Rose, who holds *all* fragments of Aristotle to be spurious, but Heitz also, suspects the *Μαγικός*." By way of compensation, Mr Hicks supplies another reference to the Magi from an undoubted work: see below, p. 420 f.

[7] Cf. "Zeus Oromasdes" in the Inscription of Antiochus of Commagene (above, p. 107).

[8] Compare above, pp. 128 f., 399.

[9] These writers are respectively third, fourth, and fourth century B.C.

[1] This is a very important notice when the date is considered, and the precision with which Diogenes locates the quotation. If my reconstruction

and that their invocations ensure the permanence of the world.[1]

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in Lecture VI. is justified, we must regularly sort out all Greek notices of the Magi, according as they appear to belong to them as repositories of Avestan doctrine, or to represent their own beliefs and practices as a distinct sacred caste. Naturally this would often be a question of geography: we should expect to find communities of Magi in non-Zoroastrian districts who kept to a late date their own peculiar tenets, being under no temptation to assimilate them to Avestan forms. The laxity of faith and practice under the Arsacid dynasty would encourage a great absence of uniformity even in districts which generally observed Avestan doctrine. In this notice of Theopompus we have a dogma which was probably alien to the Magi as such. This appears specially from *Tobit*, if I may assume the correctness of my reconstruction of the Magian folk-story which contributed groundwork to it: see p. 252. The story was taken over as it stood before the Magi attached themselves to Zoroastrianism; and it has no doctrine of a future life, unless we are to suppose that the Jewish writer who used it excised this part of its teaching. Apart from this, I can only urge that a doctrine of immortality does not seem to me in keeping with the general character of purely Magian theology, except so far as death may have been regarded as a creation of Ahriman to be destroyed with his other works. (See p. 177 f.) Both Iranian religion and Zarathushtra's reform acknowledged immortality, the latter, of course, as the very pivot of his whole system. This notice of Theopompus may accordingly be claimed as evidence that the most essential feature of Zarathushtra's teaching had in the fourth century to this limited extent become known to writers of the West.

[1] "This is the plain sense of the clause *καὶ τὰ ὄντα ταῖς αὐτῶν ἐπικλήσεσι διαμένειν*, and there is no need to adopt the makeshifts of early interpreters. Thus Isaac Casaubon's note suggests *ταῖς αὑτῶν* (or *αὐταῖς*) *ἐπικλήσεσι διαμενεῖν*, 'omnia suas appellationes retentura.' But why should the names of things in the next world, in the state of immortality, receive this special notice?" (R. D. H.) I think I could answer this question, whether or no the emendation be accepted. The importance of *names*, as an integral part of the personality, is prominent in the Magian parts of the Avesta; and I can quite believe that Magian custodians of Zarathushtra's doctrine would insist upon their perpetuity. And since the former of Casaubon's emendations only involves one changed breathing and one changed accent, it might fairly stand as an alternative explanation of the existing text. Mr Hicks proceeds to note that Meric Casaubon rejected his father's interpretation, and quoted a (decidedly apposite) passage from Cedrenus, a monk of the eleventh century:—*ἔστι δὲ μαγεία μὲν ἐπίκλησις δαιμόνων ἀγαθοποιῶν δῆθεν, πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ τινὸς σύστασιν, ὥσπερ τὰ τοῦ Τυανέως.* "According to the Bundahish, the world of existence is the result of the creative effort of Ormazd on the one side and the malignant imitation of these creations by Ahriman on the other. [This is equally true of the Vendidad: see

This is again confirmed by Eudemus, the Rhodian.[1] Hecatæus[2] adds that according to them gods, as well as men, are born,

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especially Fargard i. J. H. M.] The two orders of creation are in incessant conflict. In order that the universe may persist, Ormazd and his angels must vanquish the devil and his angels, and they need all support in the struggle. Man with his free will can lend his aid, and thus lay up for himself a store of merit or righteousness, by good thoughts, good words, good deeds, and more particularly by sacrifice. He thus takes an active part in the conflict between gods and fiends. The sacrifice is more than an act of worship: it is an act of assistance to the gods. Gods, like men, need drink and food to be strong; like men, they need praise and encouragement to be of good cheer. When not strengthened by the sacrifice, they fly helpless before their foes. [Cf. passages in metrical and therefore old Yashts, in which Yazatas declare that if only men would invoke them with a sacrifice that named their name (*aoχtō·nāmana yasna*—very close to ἐπίκλησις), they could conquer the foes of gods and men. So especially Tishtrya in *Yt* 8, in reference to his struggle with Apaosha, the Drought demon. J. H. M.] Spell or prayer is not less powerful than the offerings. The invocation by solemn formula is a weapon which Ormazd himself employs against his foe; in the beginning of the world he confounded Ahriman by reciting the Honover. Man, too, sends his prayer between the earth and the heavens, there to smite the fiends (*Ys* 61)." (R. D. H., after Darmesteter, who compares the supersession of Indra in India by deified Prayer (Brahman).) He is, I think, on wholly right lines in interpreting the Iranian evidence. I have a note elsewhere (p. 160) on the position of spells in Avestan religion. My only difficulty is that the second statement has on this interpretation nothing to do with the first. On Isaac Casaubon's lines we have a second statement which is a logical continuation of its predecessor: men are to live again, and their identity (and that of the world in which they live, except so far as the Ahrimanian creation goes) is to continue unchanged, as guaranteed by the permanence of their *names*, which are almost, like the fravashis, a part of themselves. Mr Hicks remarks on my note that linguistic tests break down, as ἐπίκλησις and τὰ ὄντα are susceptible of either meaning. He thinks my preference makes the dative "perhaps a trifle less natural." We must, I fear, leave the matter open.

[1] Fourth century.

[2] Of Miletus, who lived in the sixth and early fifth centuries. This is accordingly one of our very earliest notices of the Magi, and it is tantalisingly brief. The historian or his epitomator has not troubled to justify the statement, which is difficult to fit on to what we know. Perhaps the best parallel will be the passage in Plutarch (above, p. 401) where he says Horomazes "created six gods" (the Amshaspands) and 24 others later, Areimanios creating ἀντίτεχνοι to them. Ahura Mazdâh is called in the Avesta the "father" of Âtar (Fire), Aramaiti, and other *yazata*; and the epithet *Mazdadāta* is applied to Haoma and others. Perhaps these

and have a beginning in time.[1] Clearchus of Soli[2] in his work *On Education* further makes the Gymnosophists to be descendants of the Magi, and some trace the Jews to the same origin also.[3] Furthermore, those who have written about the Magi criticise Herodotus.[4] They urge that Xerxes would never have cast javelins at the sun, nor have bound the sea with fetters, since in the creed of the Magi sun and sea are gods; but that statues of the gods should be destroyed by Xerxes was natural enough.

I must not yield to temptation, or I might be quoting Mr Hicks's paper whole, and thereby emulating the service that Diogenes has rendered us in preserving valuable matter which otherwise would not have survived. I will excerpt only one or two more passages which have importance for my purpose.

> "The Magians, whose doctrine is here presented, were clearly not magicians, as Aristotle saw, though Pliny, four centuries later, perhaps wilfully confounded them; for his own account (*N.H.* xxx. 6) of the reasons why Tiridates refused to

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facts will justify Hecatæus, in whose day the Magi were only recently attached to Zoroastrianism, and therefore doubtless indifferent about excepting Ahura himself from the rule thus universally expressed.

[1] "Ἑκαταῖος δὲ καὶ γεννητοὺς τοὺς θεοὺς εἶναι κατ' αὐτούς. I have paraphrased the words too freely, perhaps, but the position of *καί* is not inconsistent with my rendering 'as well as men.'" (R. D. H.)

[2] "Pupil of Aristotle." (R. D. H.)

[3] The modern analogue of this notion comes under consideration in Lecture IX. It is a pity that Diogenes did not give us chapter and verse for this specially interesting assertion.

[4] The criticism means, of course, that like most moderns they assumed Magian rules to have been current in Persia in the time of Xerxes. I have dealt with this question at length elsewhere, and need only observe here that evidence is abundant to show that a much longer period passed before the Magian Revolt was sufficiently forgotten to allow the Magi great power in Persia: their religion also needed much adaptation before it could be mistaken for a kindred cult by the Persians. Mr Hicks well observes that "under the Achæmenian kings Mazdeism as we know it from the Avesta gained ground but slowly, and there was a distinction between Magian and Persian to the end." For the reasons already given, I do not feel it necessary to regard the stories about Cyrus placing Crœsus on a pyre, Cambyses burning the mummy of Amasis, or Xerxes flogging the sea or shooting arrows at the sun, as discredited by inconsistency with Magian religion.

> go by sea to Rome, and taxed the provinces with the expense of a land journey,[1] shows clearly that Tiridates was a follower of the Mazdean religion, which forbade him to defile the elements, as the Parsees of to-day consider it a crime to spit into the fire. Tacitus distinctly says that it was on grounds of religion that Vologeses, in a despatch to Nero, had at first declined the invitation to Rome for his brother Tiridates.[2] Thus by the term Magian we are to understand a priest, and one of the Zoroastrian or Mazdean religion."

These tabus are of course Magian in the strict sense of the word, and only attach themselves to the Zoroastrian or the Mazdean name by virtue of the syncretism which in the first century was very nearly complete.

Of great interest to the student of Greek philosophy is Mr Hicks's discussion of possible influence of Magian doctrine on Greek thinkers. I must pass this by, only noting his conclusions because of their bearing on the dating of Magian dogmas. He decides against Prof. Goodrich's suggestion (*Class. Rev.*, xx. 208 f.) that there is an allusion to Zoroastrianism in Plato, *Politicus*, 269E–270A, the Empedoclean doctrine of Νεῖκος and Φιλία. (Cf. Prof. J. G. Frazer's letter quoted in my notes on Plutarch, above, p. 404.) He is more inclined to accept Mr Goodrich's other suggestion, that Plato has Parsi doctrine in mind when he propounds (and rejects) the hypothesis of two gods with hostile intentions towards each other. But he notes that in the *Laws* (x., p. 896E) "Plato hit upon another hypothesis, that there are two souls in the universe, a good soul and an evil soul." From the same book he quotes a passage which looks decidedly Magian :—

> For as we acknowledge the world (*οὐρανόν*) to be full of many goods and also of evils, and of more evils than goods, there is, as we affirm, an undying conflict (*μάχη . . . ἀθάνατος*) going on among us, which requires marvellous watchfulness; and in that conflict the gods and demigods are our allies, and we are their property (*Laws*, 906A).

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[1] Magus ad eum [Neronem] Tiridates venerat . . . ideo provinciis gravis. Navigare noluerat, quoniam exspuere in maria aliisque mortalium necessitatibus violare naturam eam fas non putant. (On this see p. 216.)

[2] Nec recusaturum Tiridaten . . . in urbem venire, nisi sacerdotii religione attineretur (*Annals*, xv. 24).

"The never-ending contest is as old as Heraclitus, and thoroughly Greek; but that gods and men are marshalled together, and share the perils of the fight, that their co-operation is necessary to victory, is an idea more familiar in the East than in Greece." Mr Hicks thinks that a nearer parallel may be found in a curious doctrine of Democritus, whose system of materialism and natural necessity admits it as an incongruous element suggesting alien origin. "If the travels attributed to Democritus are historical, he may well have learnt this part of the Magian religion." The passage that gives us our information is in Sextus, *adv. Math.*, ix. 19:—

> Democritus says, certain phantoms or images (εἴδωλα), some beneficent, others maleficent, come into touch with men; and for that reason he prays that he may meet with favourable images. They are huge, nay, enormous; not indeed indestructible, but nevertheless hard to destroy. They are seen of men, and heard to utter voices; and they give prophetic warning of what will come to pass. It was from the perception of these images that primitive men derived the idea of God, for apart from them no deity of immortal nature exists.

To Mr Hicks this "does at first sight look like an adaptation of the doctrine of archangels and archfiends (or Fravashis?),[1] and of the other subordinate good and evil powers which we know in the Avesta." If this is so, it will be the earliest Greek contact with Magian dualism, for Democritus was born about 460 B.C. As we see elsewhere (p. 425), the name Areimanios does not arrive in Greece, to our knowledge, earlier than Aristotle (as quoted in Diogenes, above). It is therefore of importance if we are to recognise the conception (though not the name) in Plato's latest writing. To find it in Democritus, a generation above him, is only to be admitted if the evidence is very strong indeed; and I confess I do not see very convincing resemblance here.

Last among Mr Hicks's kind contributions are two further references to the Magi. In the *Metaphysics*, xiv. 4, p. 1091 b 10, after a reference to poets as mythologists, Aristotle continues,

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[1] This last suggestion has occurred independently to Dr Casartelli—"in spite of *malevolent* ones (perhaps a confusion ?)."

"since those of them who are interspersed with a style not entirely mythical, *e.g.* Pherecydes and some others, make the first creator and begetter (*τὸ γεννῆσαν πρῶτον*, generating principle) the Best, and so do the Magi." I cite Mr Hicks's translation, with his remark that "this is as good as a recognition of Ormazd." I might add that "Best" (Av. *vahišta*) is very much in keeping with Avestan phraseology from first to last. Mr Hicks gives me also the interesting reference to Diogenes Laertius, ii. 45, which I thus render:—

> Aristotle says that a Magian came from Syria to Athens, and warned Socrates, among other things, that he would die a violent death.

I suppose we may safely assign this to the *Magicus*, which makes it subject to the doubts raised by critics as noted above. If Aristotle really recorded this, it is an excellent example of the gift of the Magi for divination. Of the grounds of the critics' questioning I have no knowledge.

EXCURSUS

FOREIGN FORMS OF ZOROASTRIAN NAMES

THE date when certain crucial names are first recorded in Greek writers or Oriental inscriptions, and the forms in which they appear, may supply information of importance for our inquiry.

Ahura Mazdâh. (O.P. *A*^{h}*uramazda*, M.P. *Ōhrmazd*, N.P. *Hurmuzd*, Gk. *'Ωρομάσδης*, etc.)

The name is always two words in the Avesta, and in the Gathas the elements are often separated by several words, and either of them may stand first. In Old Persian, on the other hand, except once in an inscription of Xerxes (*Aurahya Mazdāha*) and once where *Aurā* stands alone in a Persepolis inscription of Darius, the name is always a compound with the second element only declined. It is to be noted that the name *Mazdaka* is twice found in Media in the year 715 B.C. (E. Meyer in *Enc. Brit.*^{11}, xxi. 205, cf. xxviii. 1041). This, with the two exceptions just noted, may be taken as evidence that in the time of Darius and Xerxes the union of the two elements was a recent fashion. (See above, p. 109 f.) It is accordingly noteworthy that they should be found in combination in an Assyrian list of gods, published by Hommel in *PSBA*, 1899, pp. 127, 138 f., dated in the middle of the seventh century B.C. The form is given by Zimmern (*KAT*,^{3} 486) as (*ilu*) *As-sa-ra* (*ilu*) *Ma-za-aš*, the determinative of deity preceding each part. There follow the seven *Igigi* (gods of the sky) and seven *Anunnaki* (gods of underworld). Hommel is no doubt right in inferring that the name must have been taken over some centuries earlier: his own suggestion goes as far back as the Kassite period, 1700–1200 B.C. (Cf. also his observations in

Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients, p. 204 (1904).) Hommel notes the absence of the nominative -*s* from the first element, while it is present in the second. This leads him to regard the word as a compound. I can only discuss this from the Indo-European point of view; but there is a consideration that the Assyriologist might easily overlook, viz. that the sibilant at the end of Aryan *Mazdhās*[1] is radical, while that in *Asuras* is the sign of the nominative. The Aryan *Asura Mazdhās*, therefore, to which the Assyrian form seems to point, is capable of being taken in both elements as the bare stem and not the nominative at all. There are, however, some other considerations which Aryan philology suggests. Firstly comes the crucial question whether the form belongs to Aryan or Iranian. Indian is happily excluded here, as it is not in the Boghaz-keui deity-names, for the *z* is decisive. Hommel's suggestion that Iranian may be recognised by postulating a period in which initial or intervocalic *s* had not yet reached *h*, but was in an intermediate position which was represented in Assyrian indifferently with *s* or *š*, seems satisfactory. But of course in any case the word must have been taken over centuries before Assurbanipal, to whose reign the inscription belongs. This characteristic Iranian sound-change must be allowed time to work, and it is complete before our oldest literature begins.[2] If we go back to the Aryan period, Hommel's earliest Kassite century gives us hardly time enough, unless I press my own speculations outlined on pp. 5 and 26. Ed. Meyer regards the five Boghaz-keui divinities as Aryan; but unless we are prepared to bring the Aryan migration into India down to the very end of the second millennium, we surely cannot find room for the differentiation, if the Aryan unity is still subsisting in the fourteenth century B.C. But all the requirements seem to be met by postulating an earlier stage of Iranian. In applying this to *Assara Mazāš*, we may remark to begin with that the double *s* and the *a* instead of *u*, with *z* instead of *zd* in the second word, may prove to us that the name is not preserved exactly enough to found any argument on the presence or absence of a nominatival *s*. And further, if we may take the form as sound, there is still a strong probability that the vocative—identical with the bare stem—would supply the form for exportation: divine names are most heard in the vocative, and the leading case of the Latin *Iuppiter* shows how the form of invocation may fix the type. We are left, then, with the option to treat the Assyrian borrowed title as one word or two, and the probabilities for so early a date are strongly in favour of the two. For the bearing of Hommel's discovery on the date of Zarathushtra see p. 31 f.

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[1] Or *Maδdhās* (Bartholomae).

[2] Hopes of tracing Iranian in the second millennium by the help of the Kassi have vanished under the skilled criticism of Bloomfield (*Am. Journ. Phil.*, xxv. 1–14). Hommel's two discussions were written before this paper, so that he is not proof against the natural temptation to recognise Skt *sūryas* (nom.) in *šuriaš*, one of the forty odd words of the Kassite vocabulary. With the useful example of *Potomac* ποταμός before us, or Span. *mucho* = our *much*, we may safely trust the long arm of coincidence here, even if *šuriaš* were certainly a sun-god. See Hirt, *Die Indogermanen*, ii. 583 f.

The forms of the divine name in Greek must next be considered. Variation between ζ and σδ is only a matter of spelling. For Greek ω representing Persian *au* we may compare Γωβρύας from *Gaubaruva*. Windischmann attributed the form 'Αγοραμάζδης to Hermippus, but unfortunately it is only a conjecture, and a violent one.[1] If it existed, we should recognise the only Greek form that even suggested Avestan, since the γ would mark the hiatus and produce a five-syllabled word. As it is, we note that the only possible source of the name is Old Persian and not Avestan. The earliest Greek writer to give the name is the author of the pseudo-Platonic dialogue *Alcibiades I.*:[2] reasons for its absence in Herodotus are attempted elsewhere (p. 60). Towards the end of the fourth century we have Aristotle, and probably Theopompus and Eudoxus. We need not trouble about testimonies later than Plutarch. How the Greeks got the name is clear, and that it can hardly have come to them much earlier than the end of the fifth century.

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[1] *Zor. St.*, 291. It is at least avowed as such, whereas Justi (*Namenbuch*, p. 7) assigns "Αὐρομάσδης" to Hermippus without a hint that it is not from the MSS. As far as I can find out, this is only a conjecture from Pliny's *Azonaces* (etc.), the clearly corrupt name of Zoroaster's instructor (*NH.* xxx. ii. 1—see Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 234). That the divine name does underlie this is likely enough.

[2] Professor Burnet tells me this dialogue "can hardly be later than about the middle of the fourth century B.C., whoever its author may have been."

Angra Mainyu

The name occurs in the Later Avesta, and once in the Gathas, but is to the last less conspicuous than the older *Druj*. Like Ahura Mazdâh, it is always two words in the Avesta. It does not occur in Old Persian, but later Persian encourages us to assume that it was fused into one word when it did become acclimatised in Persia; and Greek most certainly received it from Persian and not Avestan. ᾿Αρειμάνιος agrees with the modern Persian *Ahriman*. Its first appearance is in Aristotle Περὶ Φιλοσοφίας I., *ap.* Diogenes Laertius, *Procem.*, 6. The difficulty is the ει, for **A*(*h*)*ramanyuš* (nom.) would be the Old Persian form answering to the Avestan, when the two words coalesce into one, and this would demand ᾿Αραμάνιος and a similar change in Persian; cf. Middle Persian *Ahraman*. Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 105) says that "N.P. Ahrīman, Gr. ᾿Αρειμανιος, presume an original Iranian by-form **Ahriya*." I cannot feel satisfied with this — surely the Greek would be *᾿Αριομάνιος or ᾿Αριαμ·?—though my own alternative[1] is not without difficulties. An Old Persian form **Ahrīmanyuš*, with a *feminine* adjective, may be explained in one of two ways. Since nouns in *i̯u* are properly masc. (see Brugmann, *Grundriss der vergl. Gramm.*², II. i. 224), we might be tempted by the analogy of another *-yu-* noun which is fem. in Iranian, *dasyu-*(m.), O.P. and Av. *dahyu-* (f.). But the semantics of this word and its morphology alike (cf. Brugmann, *op. cit.*, p. 210) make it an unsafe parallel. I prefer to call in the Avestan *Druj*, the feminine fiend of Falsehood. In O.P. the masc. cognate *drauga* (also Avestan) takes this rôle, but Middle Persian *druž* helps us to believe that this word existed in O.P., as in Avestan (Gathic and Later) and Sanskrit (*druh-*, a fiend, thrice fem., twice masc. in Ṛgveda). Since the conception of Angra Mainyu is certainly Zarathushtra's own, and cannot have entered Persia except in conjunction with his doctrine, the far greater prominence of *Druj* even in the Gathas was likely enough to colour the conception of the archfiend. And the feminine, if we could trust it, would be valuable witness for the genuine Avestan origin of the Persian importation. But I have to confess that I should expect *Ahrā manyuš* rather than *Ahrī m.*; and I only set this down because the difficulties of other explanations seem weightier.

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[1] See *Proceedings of the Third Internat. Congress of the History of Religions* (Oxford, 1908), ii. 98.

Zaraθuštra

It is generally allowed now that the Prophet's name contains the word *uštra*, "camel," like that of his follower *Frašа-uštra* (4 sylls. in Gathas): we compare at once *Vīšta-aspa* and *Jāma-aspa*, containing the word for "horse." To equate with *zaraθ* the cognate of *γέροντ-* seems on the whole most satisfactory: see p. 82. Its earliest Greek appearance is in the *Alcibiades*, quoted above,[1] and in Xanthus Lydus.[2] This brings the Greek witness into the reign of Artaxerxes II., or even Artaxerxes I., if Xanthus is accepted as dating thence. Apart from occasional variants with *Ζορ.*, or in *-ις* instead of *-ης*, we have no other form of the name till the reign of Augustus, when Diodorus Siculus (i. 94, 2) brings in the corrected form *Ζαθραύστης*. There are forms like *Ζαράτας* also current, from Plutarch down, but Justi is probably right in referring the original reference to some other person: in later times confusion arose.[3] How the Greek form started is very hard to conjecture. Justi (*Namenbuch*, *s.v.*) accepts a theory of E. Wilhelm's, that it is due to a kind of spiritualising of an intractable name, so altered in Iranian as to suggest "one who sacrifices (*yaštar*) with power (Av. *zāvar* 'physical strength')." The word appears in M.P. as *zōr*, occurring frequently in the Turfân MSS., sometimes in its older form *zāvar*: it seems there to have a wider meaning. This ingenious explanation presumes an effort of priestly etymologising, of course within the Iranian area. Against this hypothetical process we can set another account which (whether sound or wild) did certainly take place within Iranian speech. For we have ancient evidence of a real popular etymology in the explanation of *Ζωροάστρης* as *ἀστροθύτης*, which comes to us from Deinon (340 B.C., acc. to Ed. Meyer) and Hermodorus (fourth century B.C.), *ap.* Diogenes, *Proœm.*, 6 (p. 415 above). This implies that some form of Av. *zaoθra* (M.P. *zōhr*) was brought in, with Gathic and Avestan *star* (mod. Pers. *sitāra*). The elements of the compound are, it must be allowed, in the wrong order. If the Greek form Ζοροάστρης were better attested, we should have no trouble. The dental vanished in O.P., as in *Dārayavauš* = Av. * *Dārayat̯vohuš*: we may quote also the Græco-Bactrian ΑΡΟΟΑϹΠΟ = *Aurvat̯aspa* (Lohrāsp). The disappearance of the *th*, then, attests the influence of Old Persian, which we see all through these names. It has, in fact, to be stated generally that we can find no distinct traces of Zend in Greek writers, but only of Old Persian.

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[1] ὁ μὲν μαγείαν τε διδάσκει τὴν Ζωροάστρου τοῦ Ὡρομάζου.

[2] *Ap.* Nicolaus of Damascus and Diogenes Laertius: see Jackson, *Zoroaster*, pp. 232, 241.

[3] So Agathias (sixth century) on Ζωρόαστρος "τοῦ Ὁρμάσδεως," adding ἤτοι Ζαράδης—διττὴ γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἡ ἐπωνυμία (Jackson, *Zoroaster*, 248).

Vərəθrayna

The Avestan genius of Victory appears as Ἀρτάγνης in the Inscription of Antiochus of Commagene. This is a clearly Old Persian form. Kaniška's ΟΡΛΑΓΝΟ is different, but equally far from the Avestan. An important question is raised by the etymology of this name, which is of course compared with the Vedic cult-title of Indra *Vṛtrahan*. That is assumed to mean "slayer of *Vṛtra*"; but the Iranian evidence makes it highly probable that the said demon is a myth in more senses than one. Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 1420), on the Avestan word *vərəθra*, "assault," notes that the Skt equivalent *Vṛtrá* has changed its meaning. On *vərəθrayna*, a neuter noun, he gives the meaning "repelling of assault," and points out that the masc. form is the result of personification. Justi (*Namenbuch*, 361) makes it mean "victoriously (lit. with victory) smiting." It is clear that the Indo-Aryans misunderstood the word, and invented a demon to explain a word which on analogy might naturally mean "slaying *x*," the *x* in question having gone out of use.

Miθra

The only point to observe here is the variation in Greek transliteration. Herodotus, who writes before the first appearance of the name in the O.P. Inscriptions, represents *θr* by τρ, as was always the case with σατράπης. So in the proper names Μιτραδάτης and Μιτροβάτης. The latter (Herod. iii. 120, 126), dating from the reign of Cambyses, is, according to Justi, the oldest historically credible name containing this element (=*Miθra-pāta*, "protected by M."). There is earlier Greek attestation for a man of the next generation, Μιτρογᾱθής, named by Æschylus, *Persæ*, 43 (MSS. Μητρογ). Ctesias also has τρ, as Μιτραφέρνης, also Μητρώστης (*Miθra vahišta*, acc. to Justi); and Xenophon mentions a Μιτραῖος, but also Μιθριδάτης. The τρ occurs only sporadically after fourth century, as in Μίτρα, a proper name in an inscription of 79 A.D. at Komana (*Bull. Corr. Hell.*, vii. 129). We may probably infer a more exact knowledge of the Persian pronunciation, coupled with the gradual spirantising of the Greek θ which made it an exact representation of the Iranian sound. In one of the three appearances of the name on the Inscriptions of Artaxerxes Mnemon, who is the first to mention it, the spelling is *Mitra*: Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 1185) regards the variation as having no significance. But it is possibly suggestive that Mithra's companion Anahita is also imperfectly spelt *Anahata* in these inscriptions. So far as they go, they might prompt the idea that the names were strange as well as new: the mistake of Herodotus (i. 131), who confuses the two deities, might help the same inference. But the proper names derived from *Miθra* make such a conclusion highly precarious. The name at any rate is quotable from the Assyrian: cf. Zimmern in *KAT*,³ 486, where *Mi-it-ra* comes in association with *Šamaš*. The tablet is from Assurbanipal's library, so that its antiquity is secure. Some points suggested by the Cappadocian record will be taken up in a separate note at the end.

Magu

The name comes to us from Behistan, and in the form Μάγος from Sophocles (*OT*, 387),[1] Euripides (*Orestes*, 1496), and Herodotus, to name only the oldest. Slightly older, if genuine, is Xanthus the Lydian, who is said to have written under Artaxerxes I. He refers to the succession of Magi following Zoroaster, whom he dates 6000 years before the Expedition of Xerxes. (See Jackson, *Zoroaster*, 241, and Diogenes Laertius, above, p. 410 f.) If Xanthus really is genuine, and is correctly dated, we have a strong argument for giving Zarathushtra some centuries' antiquity beyond the traditional date. But his notices do not inspire me with much confidence as a whole, except as a witness to fifth-century Magianism. In the Avesta the name only occurs once, in a prose passage: *Ys* 65^7, *mā nō āpō . . . haši-ṯbiše mā moγu-ṯbiše mā varəzānō·ṯbiše . . . frāδāiti*, "Let not our Waters be given up to one who hates the brotherhood, hates the Magi, hates the community." The passage belongs to some very late period in which the priesthood uses at last a name that had been used of them by outsiders for ages, probably as a depreciatory title. I have given reasons elsewhere for expecting to find it at least a foreigners' name, like *Welsh* for *Cymry*, *Greek* for *Hellene*, or *German* for *Deutsch*. What is its origin? The authority of Nöldeke and Bezold (cf. Bartholomae, *Air Wb*, 1111) removes the veto of the Assyriologists against the *a priori* probable assumption that it is a Persian word, like the other five names of Median tribes in Herodotus, i. 101. I venture to return to an etymology I proposed in 1892,[1] understanding it, however, in a different sense. L.Av. *maγava*, "unmarried," is compared by Bartholomae with the Gothic *magus*, which translates παῖς (once τέκνον): cf. *thiumagus* for παῖς when it means "servant," a meaning which *magus* itself has in Lk. 15^{26}. The same development of meaning has taken place in our own cognate *maid* and in O.Ir. *mug*, "servant." When the Aryan invaders (Ἀριζαντοί in Herodotus) established themselves in Media, they may well have reduced the former inhabitants to serfdom and named them accordingly: the fact would account for the Magian preference for other names. In Avestan the word for *boy* developed along another line. For the acute and in many ways very seductive alternative proposed by Carnoy, see p. 183 n.

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[1] Jebb's note may be quoted:—"The Persian μάγος (as conceived by the Greeks) was one who claimed to command the aid of beneficent deities (δαίμονες ἀγαθοεργοί), while the γόης was properly one who could call up the dead (Suid., I. 490: *cp.* Plut., *De Defect Orac.*, c. 10)."

I must stray for a moment into the Semitic field to ask whether the name *Magu* is not to be recognised in the Hebrew

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[1] *The Thinker*, ii. 491.

רַב־מָג, which I have taken as ἀρχίμαγος (above, p. 187 f., and in my article *s.v.* in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary* (one volume)). The Semitists (see *Oxford Lexicon*, *s.v.*) are not very decided. Dr C. H. W. Johns, in *Enc. Bibl.*, 4000, cites a *Rab mugi* as "master of the horse in the Assyrian Court." Naturally I cannot criticise this, which to an outsider seems very much more plausible than the other suggestions made from Semitic quarters: see Prof. Cheyne's contribution (*Enc. Bibl.*, *l.c.*) which ends characteristically with the assertion that "רב־מג is corrupt." Tiele's discussion (*Religionsgesch.*, ii. 110 f.) should just be mentioned. His objections to ἀρχίμαγος are twofold:—(1) The sorcerers and magicians in Babylon and Assyria have an entirely different title. It is enough to reply that we are not obliged to assume the identity of this sacred caste with "sorcerers and magicians," even if their name connoted this some centuries later. (2) The Rab-mag is in Jer. 39^{3} included among the king of Babylon's שָׂרִים, in v.^{13} among his רַבִּים, and Magi were neither "Fürsten" nor "Grossen." So he has recourse to a Sumerian word *maĝ*, "gross, mächtig, glänzend, Herr, Fürst," taken over by Assyrian, but never for priests or sorcerers. "These *Maĝĝi* have nothing in common with the Medo-Persian Magi, and in all probability the Rab-mag has as little. If this last is really to be a chief Magus, he must have come from Media to Babylon, but this is not probable." I do not know why, if the caste had anything like the position I have depicted on evidence gathered in the text. But I must not be understood to be anxious to defend the Rab-mag as an Archimagus against Semitists, who have unquestionable rights to deal with him as they please. My inferences from Ezek. 8^{17} stand, whatever be Rab-mag's fate; and I am quite content to plead only that the difficulty of Tiele (and Cheyne) is removed. They ask what a Magus was doing in a Babylonian galley. I hope my prolonged investigation may have proved that he had business there.

The Cappadocian Calendar

This subject does not on the face of it belong to the title of the present excursus: but it will soon be found to lie almost entirely within the limits. I have discussed some of the inferences in Lecture III.: here it is my object to examine the evidence that has been gathered from the names of Persian divinities in its bearing on the epoch of the earliest appearance of Amshaspands in the West.

Prof. Cumont does not discuss the date at which the Persian Calendar was adopted in Cappadocia. He simply accepts the argument of M. E. Drouin in an article on the Calendar in *Revue Archéologique*, 1889, especially the section in ii. 43 ff. M. Drouin's chief conclusions may be repeated. The Cappadocian Calendar must have been introduced by the Persians a tolerably long time after Darius I. and the adoption in Persia of the Avestan Calendar: otherwise the months taken over would have been those named on the Behistan Inscription. The first intercalation of a 13th month to rectify the solar year he proves to have been in 309 B.C. This is, then, the inferior limit, for after that date we should have found in Cappadocia the intercalation, or more probably the Macedonian months, since all Asia Minor was included in Alexander's empire. The fixing of the year at 365 days, and the adoption of the Avestan Calendar, M. Drouin dates in the middle of the fifth century. "We should not be far from the truth if we put the introduction of the Persian Calendar into Asia Minor about the year 400 B.C." (This date, we have seen, Prof. Cumont takes over.) It is noted that the borrowing of the ἐπαγόμεναι to fill up the year comes from Egypt, and the 13th month from Chaldæa. The Old Persian Calendar may be supposed to have lasted the lives of Darius and Xerxes. This assumption, however, has to reckon with E. W. West's researches, the results of which may be seen in the introduction to *SBE*, xlvii. (pp. xlii. ff.), published in 1897, about eight years after Drouin's article, and earlier in the *Academy* (vol. xlix.—I have not seen this last). West calculated that the year of 365 days, still current among the Parsis, must have been introduced in 505 B.C., with a margin of four to eight years in either direction for accidental errors of ancient observers. He gets this by the simple fact that 365 days make the year too short by ·2422 of a day, which he sets beside the datum that in 1864 "the beginning of the Parsi year, according to Persian reckoning, had retreated to August 24," or 210 days before the equinox. That the Parsi year should begin with the equinox we learn from the Bundahish,[1] which we have seen takes a specially high place in Pahlavi literature for the antiquity of its material. Obviously the 365 days year does not carry with it the names of the months. But West remarks that we do not hear of any change, and might reasonably expect to have heard if such a change took place. The assumption that Darius used the Old Persian months not only at the outset of his reign, when he dated his victories with them on the Behistan Rock, but to the end of his life, would necessitate our inferring that the Old Persian months also accounted for 365 days, for which we should need positive evidence that is not forthcoming. We may take it as proved that a 365 days year was established in Iran about 505 B.C., and therefore in the reign of Darius I. But the year which has been used among the Parsis, since the Sassanian era at least, is one of 365 days, and there is a presumption in favour of identifying them. The months are not named in the Avesta, except in one passage of *Āfrīnakān* (see below). But, in what they include and what they exclude alike, they suit the mind of Darius remarkably well. We have seen good reason to believe that he was a genuine and earnest follower of Zarathushtra, while by no means fanatical as to the recognition of deities whom the Prophet sternly ignored: they could be acknowledged as *bagāha*, or *yazatā̊*, as the Later Avesta called them, with Ahura Mazdâh unapproachably above them. The inclusion of the six Amshaspands shows that the epoch is after Zarathushtra, when his *Ahurā* had been systematised into a Hexad. But with them we find six others in *Fravartin*, *Tir*, *Mitrō*, *Āvān*, *Ātarō*, *Dīn*, to give the Pahlavi names, presiding severally over the 1st, 4th, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th months. The sacred Fire and the Religion (*Daēnā*) might have been included by Zarathushtra. The Fravashis, Tishtrya (see below), Mithra, and the Waters are just the most conspicuous of the old divinities which Zarathushtra could not dispossess. And *Haoma and Anahita are not there!* This last omission rules out Artaxerxes Mnemon or any later time; for even if a later Achæmenian reduced the triad (Auramazda, Anahita, Mithra) to a duad in his inscription, he would not have dropped Anahita out of a selection of twelve. It is, I think, safe to say that the convergent evidence of the astronomical data and the choice of divinities to preside over the months—an undesigned coincidence which has peculiar weight—takes us to Darius as the author, and in its turn strengthens the case for Darius's Zoroastrianism. There are many other questions suggested, such as the very curious order,[1] but I have mentioned all that is necessary for the problem before us: we may transfer our attention to Cappadocia.

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[1] Which, however, is not consistent, says Bartholomae (*AirWb*, 1117, 1119, *s.v. maiδyāirya*, *maiδyōi·šam*). B. seems to me inconclusive in his suggestion of two different beginnings of the year in various early epochs (*a priori* somewhat unlikely).

The names of the Cappadocian months were given above: it will be remembered that they are indifferently preserved, and we are at liberty not only to choose between many variants in late Greek MSS., but to amend where necessary. I may repeat the restored forms, according to Cumont, adding the Old Persian names of the divinities from which they come:—

	Pahlavi.	Originally commenced.	Named from		(Restored) Cappadocian.
			O.P.	Avestan.	
I.	*Fravarṭīn*	Mar. 21	**Fravarti*	*Fravaši*	*Αραρτανα
II.	*Arṯavahišt*	Apr. 20	**Artavahišta*	*Aša Vahišta*	*Αρταασιστιν
III.	*Horvadaṯ*	May 20	**Harvatāt*	*Haurvatāt*	Αρατατα
IV.	*Tīr*	June 19	*?*Tīra*	*Tištrya* (?)	Τιριξ, Τειρει
V.	*Amerōdaṯ*	July 19	**Amartāt*	*Amərətāt*	*Αμαρτοτα
VI.	*Šatvaīrō*	Aug. 18	*Xšaθra***variya*	*Xšaθra Vairya*	Ξανθριορη Ξανθυρι
VII.	*M̱itrō*	Sept. 17	*M̱iθra, Mitra*	*M̱iθra*	Μιθρι
VIII.	*Ā̱vān*	Oct. 17	*Ā̱pī*	*Ā̱p*	*Απομενατα
IX.	*Āṯarō*	Nov. 16	**Ātar*	*Ātarə*	Αθρα
X.	*Dīn*	Dec. 16	**Dainā*	(*Daēnā*)	Δαθουσα
XI.	*Vohūman*	Jan. 15	*Vahumaniš*	*Vohu Manah*	*Ωομανια
XII.	*Spendarmaṯ*	Feb. 14	**Spantaramati*	*Spəntā Aramaiti*	Σονδαρα

The asterisk denotes restored or theoretical forms. I take the Pahlavi from Gray, the Cappadocian from Cumont: for the Old Persian I am responsible. I may add the modern Persian for purposes of identification, as printed by Cumont—*Fravardîn, Ardibahisht, Khordâd, Tîr, Murdâd, Shahrēvar, Mihr, Abân, Adar, Dai, Bahman, Asfandârmad.* Of the Avestan names five occur in the *Āfrīnakān*, 3^7 ff., viz. those of the 2nd, 4th, 6th, 7th, and 10th (*Daθušō*—see below) months. In each case the genitive of the proper name appears, with *māh* understood.

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[1] Dr Louis H. Gray (in his indispensable account of the Calendar in *Grundriss*, ii. 675–7) says this is still unexplained.

I take first one or two points of substance. The most striking, as it is obviously the only one in which the Cappadocian does not agree with the Persian in the oldest form we can reach, is the name of the tenth month. Δαθουσα (or Τεθουσια) takes us to the Avestan *daθuš*, *daduš*, the weak stem of the pf. part. act. of √*dā* (τίθημι). O.P. would be *daduš*, in all probability, but we have only one perfect form on our O.P. monuments. Now this name does actually occur in the Later Avesta: *daθušō* [gen. sg., sc. *mā̊*], "(month) of the Creator" (*Āfrīnakān*, 3^{11}—see *AirWb*, 1117). This word is perhaps the best example of a really Avestan word coming into the West—indeed, I know no other of its antiquity. The use of the perfect participle as a title—compare the aorist *adā* ("he created") from the same verb in the standing formula of the Inscriptions—with the characteristic θ, faithfully reproduced in the Greek, gives us really good reason to recognise a technical term of Later Avestan religious language. How early "The Religion" was substituted for "The Creator" we cannot tell, but it is highly probable that the change was made in the Sassanian Reform. The motive may have been that Ahura Mazdah could not fitly be set on a level with the Yazatas, unless the first month was given him, as was the first day of each month.

Two other indications of antiquity meet us among these Cappadocian names. The name of the 7th month has very variant forms in the Greek MSS.; but while some of them may well have been affected by the later pronunciation of Mithra's name, Μιθρι is attested by the very fact that no foreigner could have reconstructed this obsolete form. We are accordingly taken back at least to a period B.C., for the Middle Persian *Mihir* was producing proper names in the first century A.D. (see p. 233). Prof. Cumont takes this Μιθρι as "one proof among many others that the Calendar was introduced into Cappadocia in the Achæmenian age."[1] The θ here and in the name of the 9th month would suit the Avestan form—*Miθrahe* (gen.), *Āθrō*; the θ in O.P. is a little prone to change to *t*, as its Greek transliteration helps us to see. Then we have a very ancient name preserved in the 8th month, where we recognise *Apām napāt*, the Aryan water genius (gen. *naptō* in Av.). The Sassanian name has dropped this latter element.

One difficult form remains to mention before I refer to a problem which goes deeper. The name of the last month has lost the *p* which appears in Avestan and Persian alike. Similarly Cumont's Armenian list shows (*Textes*, i. 133) that there were two forms, *Spandaramet* and *Sandaramet*, in that neighbouring language. One is sorely tempted towards assuming dialectic variation in the treatment of the Aryan group *çv* (answering to West Indo-European *kv*): cf. N.P. *sag* = " Median' σπακα, and other cases explained by analogy-levelling in Bartholomae's Grammar (*Grundriss*, i. 29), with Brugmann's approval.[2] What levelling power was available for *spənta*? I can only suggest that possibly the Cappadocian god *Sandan* may have affected the name by a popular connexion.

With the exception of the two words (1st and 2nd months) in which the Avestan *š* faces the Persian *rt*, the names come as near the Avestan as the Persian form, and sometimes nearer, as we have seen. But the 4th month presents us with a very serious difficulty. An Avestan text tells us that the month belonged to Tishtrya. The Cappadocian name is unmistakably *Tīr*. Lagarde long ago asked (*Gesamm. Abh.*, p. 258–64) how *Tištrya* developed into N.P. *Tīr*. Still more have we reason to ask how *Tīr* could appear in Cappadocia three or four centuries B.C. We note that the Indo-Scythian coins (first century A.D.) show Τειρο, while several Arsacide kings had the name Tiridates. Meanwhile (*Air Wb*, 652) *Tištrya* becomes *Tištr* in Middle and *Tištar* in New Persian, a " learned word " there, in Bartholomae's opinion. Now the lexicographer himself (p. 651) gives **Tīra* as " name of a deity," comparing " Τιριδάτης u.s.w.," and citing Nöldeke and Hübschmann. I have been inclined to wonder whether this *yazata*, only recalled in the Avesta by a proper name (*Tīrō·nakaθwa*, *Yt* 13^{126}), may have given his name to the planet Mercury, so that the 4th month belonged to him rather than to Tishtrya. This would have to be through the medium of some confusion between the star-names, for we can hardly suppose Tîra important enough to name a month except by some such accident. Of course the planets were *yazata*, not *daēva*, until the Magi dethroned them: see p. 211 f. An explanation on these lines might help us to show how Tištar got into Cancer in the Bundahish (p. 27 above). It will also connect itself with the choice of Mercury to be the demonic ἀντίτεχνος for Tishtrya in the system of the Pahlavi books. But here I have to reckon with the very important counter-proposals of Mrs Maunder in her article on the Tishtrya mythus in *The Observatory* (Dec. 1912). The passage is too long to quote in full, and I am rather afraid of summarising. The interpretation is based on the configuration of the sky at the moment when the Sun in Cancer had set and the stars have appeared. Sagittarius (which Mrs Maunder acutely finds in "Ereksha the swift archer" in *Yt* 8^{6}) is then in the S.E., with Sagitta, his "arrow darted through the air," far over his head, and confronting the other horseman, Centaurus, down in the west: they thus represent the warring powers of good and evil. I quote the two closing paragraphs:—

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[1] See West in *Grundriss*, ii. 76.

[2] See Tolman, p. 71, on O.P. *asa*, Av. *aspa*, " horse."

> As it seems to me, then, the Tîstar myth is essentially a meteorological nature-myth, which took its rise in India. Tîstar is primarily not a star at all in our ordinary sense of the word, but "the most bright and glorious star of all," the Sun of the summer solstice in its capacity as rain-bringer. But the trappings of the myth were, I think, derived from the two great stellar figures that were so prominent in the evening sky after sundown, at the time of the beginning of the rains. So Tîstar was the Sun, or at least the Angel of the Sun, but was conceived as embodied in the zodiacal sign Sagittarius. Yet the tradition that identifies Tîstar with Sirius has its justification, for Sirius rose heliacally at Delhi when the Sun was in Cancer—"in the month Tîr,"—and the breaking of the monsoon was in suspense.
>
> This is the explanation of the myth that most appeals to me. But it should be noted that in the Tîr Yast there is no

> mention of the month of the year; that is only found in the Bundahi*s* and the later commentary. Therefore, so far as the Tîr Ya*s*t alone is concerned, the myth may have related originally to the winter rains of Persia, which fall in the ninth month—the month of Sagittarius Tî*s*tar in this case would be the Sun in Sagittarius, as rain-bringer, and that constellation would still supply the imagined form for the Angel of the Rain. But in this case we should have to dismiss the connection, so emphatically stated in the Bundahi*s*, between Tî*s*tar and Cancer and Tîr, the fourth month of the year, as a late and mistaken gloss.

I cannot presume to clear this matter up. I will only remark that if the myth did arise in India we can easily understand a confusion springing up between the age of the Yashts and that of the Bundahish. In this interval Babylonian star-lore was naturally domesticated among the Magi; and the incongruity between Median conditions and those which give birth to the myth in a southern latitude would be recognised. An attempt to reconcile the data might account for the confusion.

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